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The Week

DESPITE THE CAREFULLY moderated tone of the statements by Baldwin and Poincaré, France and England are moving on diverging lines, and unless one or the other gives way, an open break cannot long be averted. Baldwin's eagerly awaited statement minces no words in declaring that the occupation of the Ruhr was a mistake, that Germany is fast drifting toward chaos, and that before payment can be expected she must be put in a position which will enable her to pay. He insists that reparations, interallied debts, and future guarantees of security are all one question, and must be settled together. The British reply to the latest German offer, accepting the Hughes plan for a commission of experts to fix Germany's capacity to pay, will be submitted to all the Allies and other interested powers, including America, regardless of the advance notice by France that its terms are inacceptable. Poincaré, in his Senlis speech, uses conciliatory words but insists on the refusal to have an expert commission which would "coalesce against us those whose interests are opposed to ours." France will make no move until passive resistance ends, and Poincaré politely adds that this would have happened in the beginning if England had aided France as she should have done. In reality, Germany is now the helpless object of a quarrel between England and France. The latter hopes, by depriving Germany of the Ruhr products, to dismember the federation of states before England's mounting wrath and economic distress reach the point of an open quarrel. It is a race which has already caused terrible consequences and may produce a new European war.

THE NEW MUDDLE at Lausanne, the Chinese question, Mussolini's success with his electoral reform, and the Russo-Japanese conference are the other outstanding developments of the week's foreign news. After a week of dogged insistence that pre-war concessions to France and England shall not take precedence over the Chester grant and other American plans, the United States has won at Lausanne, and "harmony" is again announced, just a week after the matter was supposed to be all settled. The powers have amiably agreed to ask the fragmentary government at Peking only $500 a day for the first three days of the time each of the recently kidnapped foreigners was in the hands of bandits, and $100 a day thereafter. Great Britain wants naval force used in Chinese waters to insure the preservation of order —a suggestion which, while the reasons for it are quite obvious, could only result in destroying the last remnants of Peking's authority. Russia and Japan are deadlocked, both on the latter's evacuation of the northern half of Sakhalin, and on the Nikolaevsk massacre, for which Russia is willing to apologize, but for which she refuses to pay an indemnity. As a group of American senators and congressmen departs to make a first-hand investigation of Russian affairs, Samuel Gompers launches an attack upon the Soviet government, and the "United States of Russia," as it is now called, issues an appeal for peace with all the world.

THE MINNESOTA ELECTION is the outstanding event of the week's domestic news. Magnus Johnson's decisive victory, which gives the

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Republicans cause for added apprehension in 1924, is apparently explicable in terms of the same conditions which elected Shipstead and other agrarian radicals last autumn. The general discontent of the farmers was aided by the sudden decline of wheat to less than $1 a bushel, the lowest price since the war, and below the cost of production. Johnson was probably also aided by the statement of a committee of agricultural economists who declared that Europe's purchasing power is diminishing and advised that the wheat acreage be reduced. The general atmosphere of gloom was permeated by a single shaft of sunshine —the magnificently funny picture of the Republican leaders from a number of Middle Western states meeting at Chicago to devise ways and means of proving to the farmer that he is prosperous, though he knows very well that he isn't.

IN THE WEEK'S labor news is the threatened demand of the railroad conductors and trainmen for wage increases; the continued negotiations between anthracite miners and operators as to the terms of the new agreement which must go into effect August 31st; and the permanent injunction granted by Judge Wilkerson in Chicago against the striking shopmen—an injunction which Attorney General Daugherty triumphantly announces will make railroad strikes forever impossible. Since it prohibits a striker from doing almost everything except to go to bed and stay there, there is some cause for Mr. Daugherty's jubilation. On the heels of Mr. Gompers's announcement that the A. F. of L. will seek to unionize the steel industry comes Judge Gary's statement that the twelve-hour day will be progressively abolished beginning almost at once. The Judge makes no attempt to reconcile this news with his statement a week earlier that 60,000 surplus men would be required to bring about the three-shift system; nor his statement a few weeks earlier still before the Iron and Steel Institute that the twelve-hour day couldn't be eliminated for a long time to come.

THE BODY OF EXPERTS assembled by the Department of Agriculture to consider the outlook for exports has brought in a decidedly bearish report. The European crops are better than last year; the production of Canada, Australia and Argentina has not fallen off; there is no clear prospect of an economic improvement that will enable Europe to consume more freely. Therefore our export markets should be weaker than they were last year and prices even less satisfactory. And the moral drawn is that we ought to restrict production. It is a dreary moral, at a time when three-fourths of Europe is undernourished. The economic experts were giving advice to the Department of Agriculture, not to the State Department, and hence were not justified in offering an alternative. But there is one. A national settlement of the Franco-German quarrel would set European industry in motion and create sufficient purchasing power to take all the agricultural products we have to spare. It is highly probable that within the next three or four months America will have an opportunity to intervene effectively in behalf of a settlement. Will she do it? She might if the farmers insisted on it.

NOT ALL THE AUTHORITY is on the side of those who forecast agricultural surplus and a consequent depression in price. Eugene Meyer, Jr., points out that a change has taken place in trade practices since 1914. Before that year the consuming countries carried considerable stocks, but gradually they have been weaned of the habit by credit difficulties. Accordingly the stocks have to be carried in the producing countries, if anywhere. At present European stocks are at a minimum, and American stocks could be at a corresponding maximum without representing an unusual excess. We have often in the past been led to wholly erroneous inferences by too great reliance on the partial evidence of visible stocks. This looks like sound sense. Certainly if European credit showed signs of recovery there would be an active transfer of wheat stocks to European centres and we should hear less about the necessity of curtailing production.

UNDER TRADITIONAL protectionist theory Canada can make out an excellent technical case for the law empowering the Governor General to place an embargo on the exportation of pulp wood. An embargo would draw an increasing share of the pulp industry to Canada and make employment for a considerable number of Canadian workers. But we hope that the statesmen of Canada will bear in mind that the embargo is a game both sides can play. Last winter the demand for an embargo on anthracite became very insistent in all our northwestern states. It will be heard again when the next coal crisis comes, and the precedent of a Canadian embargo on pulp wood could hardly fail to tell. We could make out even a better case for a coal embargo. Canada and the United States have much to gain by the freest practicable commercial intercourse. Each can inflict serious injury upon the other by pursuing a narrowly selfish policy. But neither will find that it pays.

MANIFOLD ARE THE implications in a two-column article in the Paris edition of the London Daily Mail. The headline "Effort to Win Olympic Games" is followed by the information "£40,000 Appeal to Uphold Prestige of British Sport,"

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and an italicized coda which exclaims, "Let us see to it that no man who can do honor to England is repelled by poverty,"—a charmingly euphuistic demand for subsidy. Considering such expensive outdoor sports as the occupation of the Ruhr, it is also a bit surprising to learn that "France has voted £83,300"—at the present rate of exchange, a trifle over six million francs—to insure the quality of her entries. If this is not a sufficiently grotesque detail in the daily communique, an almost hidden sentence furnishes its own ironic commentary: "The secretary of the Imperial Committee for Bodily Exercises informs me that Germany will not take part in the Olympic Games in Paris next year."

IT HAS BEEN CHARGED in the French Chamber of Deputies that scandalous profiteering has been carried on systematically in the reconstruction of the devastated regions and in claims for compensation for damages to property. According to Deputy Inghels five-fold, ten-fold and even twenty-fold inflations are not uncommon, and he cites one instance of a house purchased at 1,000 francs for which the owner got 28,000 francs compensation. The charge of inflation is not new. Keynes has published many instances of the kind. The fact that claims have been padded will not surprise Americans. If our own government takes and destroys any of our private property, we usually try to get what it is worth or more. Threefold or five-fold compensation has been known in this country, too. Why should we expect the French claimant to be modest, especially since the government still keeps up the pretense that what it pays on such claims will be recovered from Germany? Here is a case in which it is patriotic, in the old-fashioned sense, to profiteer.

THE MANDATE SYSTEM is a prescription of American diplomacy to a world suffering from the predatory disease. We should therefore be especially interested in its effects. An opportunity of observation is offered by Syria, mandated to France. An American commission consisting of Mr. Charles R. Crane and President King of Oberlin visited that country three years ago and made a full report which the State Department did its best to suppress. Occasionally, however, a bit of news from Syria seeps into the press dispatches such as the eight demands recently made by the Syrians upon General Weygand, chief of the occupation. Of these demands, the second is the holding of elections for the formation of a constitutional administration; the third, amnesty for political prisoners; the fourth, liberty of the press; the fifth, the burning of all reports drawn up by spies of the mandatory government. From these it is possible to infer with some plausibility the character of the French occupation and the spirit in which it is carrying out the mandatory system for the welfare of a backward people.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL for Prevention of War will celebrate the anniversary of the outbreak of the last great war on July 28-29, with a program in which thirty-five national organizations will participate. In eighteen foreign countries the anniversary will be made the occasion of a demand for no more war. The National Council recognizes the peculiar responsibility of the United States in contributing the physical force and the intellectual leadership which resulted in the legacy from the last war of such fruitful causes of future hostilities as reparations, alienations of territory, and the mandate system. It is peculiarly appropriate therefore for the Council to sound the slogan "Get on the job and end war." It is a part of the practical wisdom of the program that it seeks "to converge the peace sentiment of the country upon the government," for, as Mr. Frederick J. Libby, the Executive Secretary of the Council, says: "The desire for peace is overwhelming throughout the world, but there must be action for peace and that action must be government action."

IT HAS BEEN the weakness of pacifist movements in the past that they have concerned themselves with the future, not the present, and in their general condemnation of war have made exception in favor of "this war" or that. There is a war going on at present, none the less cruel for being waged against a disarmed people, none the more honorable for being in contravention of the most solemn engagements known among nations. It is a war which keeps open and bleeding the most dangerous wound in the political world, and which prevents the world of economy and industry from establishing itself upon a basis of peace. It is a war for which the United States opened the opportunity, and which the United States can stop at once by taking a resolute attitude of indignant protest in which other nations would join. The United States government will do nothing unless urged to action by public opinion. Will the National Council for Prevention of War take this opportunity to enlighten the public as to the true situation and meaning of the war in the Ruhr, and seek to arouse the sentiment for peace which will encourage this government to speak? Or will it fear to divide its members by putting a single concrete case before them, and, as in the past, make an exception in the case of "this war?"

LA FOLLETTE AND McADOO continue the favorites of the New Republic Straw Voters to lead a new party or an existing one, respectively,

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in 1924. La Follette not only heads the list of third party choices, but is second only to McAdoo in popularity among those who prefer one of the present organizations. Ford is third choice on both lists, but in neither case has he as many as half the votes of the favorite. Borah is second choice of the third party people, fourth choice of the others. The third party list continues, in descending order of popularity, with Hoover, Debs, Pinchot, Johnson, McAdoo and Foster. After Borah on the list for an existing party come Smith, Harding, Hoover, Debs, Johnson, Pinchot, Underwood, Reed and Clarke. These national results are in general confirmed by the sectional returns, though Ford leads Borah for second place on the new party list in the Southwest, and among old party choices Borah outranks La Follette in the east and Ford does the same in the south and southwest.

THOUGH MORE THAN TWICE as many persons urge a third party as oppose the idea, 1,804 persons name a candidate for President on the ticket of an existing party, compared to only 1,340 nominations among the third party adherents. It is interesting to note that there are fifty-six nominations for the head of a new ticket, and only thirty-five for the candidate of an old one. This means that the average number of votes for each third party candidate is only twenty-four, compared to fifty-one for the opposing group. Such a comparison does not necessarily mean, however, that the third party adherents are more fickle, or more divided among themselves, than are the other straw voters. In proposing a candidate for a party which does not yet exist (or exists only in the most skeleton form) free rein is given to fancy, and numerous persons are mentioned who have in the past taken little or no active part in politics. Among the candidates proposed are Justice Brandeis, William Allen White, Jane Addams, Carrie Chapman Catt, H. L. Mencken, Irving Fisher, John Dewey, President Meiklejohn, Edward Bok, Colonel House, B. M. Baruch, and Raymond Robins. Two of the editors of The New Republic are also nominated, whose names we modestly withhold.

DR. VORONOFF is planning to produce a race of super-sheep; but from which great American university they will be graduated is not announced.

THE PAST WEEK has seen two vigorous blows at freedom, one by Mussolini and one by the United States Federal District Court at Chicago. Mussolini, acting under the usual plea that freedom of speech is being abused, has issued a series of restrictions on political discussion in the press which virtually give the Fascisti power to suppress every paper which criticizes any of their acts. Federal Judge James H. Wilkerson, in Chicago, has made permanent Attorney General Daugherty's temporary injunction against the railroad shopmen, of whom 400,000 were on strike at the time the order was first issued. This amazing injunction forbids a long list of acts, with the net result that it becomes a crime to do almost anything in connection with the shopmen's strike which is calculated to aid the strikers or discourage strike breakers or railroad operators.

IT IS ILLEGAL for strikers to appear in the vicinity of their former place of employment, unless they can prove they have some "legitimate" errand there. "Threats, jeers, taunts and entreaties" are prohibited; so are "parades, meetings, letters, telegrams, telephone messages and public statements." Judge Wilkerson says that the strike was not a controversy between employer and employee, but was an attempt to cripple and destroy interstate commerce. He also says that peaceful words, uttered in violent times, take on a significance which transcends the right of free speech. Mussolini says the same thing. There may be some excuse for Mussolini, who overthrew the government which preceded him by coercion based solely on force of arms. But what shall we say of governmental agencies which in democratic America in time of peace forbid railroad employees to organize collectively and to enforce their demands by the only real weapon labor possesses—the simultaneous refusal of large numbers to continue to work on terms which they regard as unfair? The social theory on which such a ruling is based is one completely out of harmony with the conditions under which at present millions of men and women are compelled to earn their daily bread; it assumes a relationship between employer and employed which no longer exists except in isolated cases; and ultimately it will and must disappear.

THE BATTLE FOR free speech is an endless one. Every generation contains men who are the natural enemies of democracy and justice, and who, if unthwarted, will seek to establish conditions of tyranny in serene ignorance that such documents as the Magna Charta and the American Constitution have ever been written. The most recent scene has been in New Mexico, where Governor Hinkle has been forced to intervene and pardon a man whom be described as having been "persecuted rather than prosecuted"—Carl C. Magee, editor of the State Tribune of Albuquerque and long an opponent of the notorious Segundo Romero ring, which controls New Mexico as Tweed once controlled New York, and the Southern Pacific machine California.

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MAGEE, IN THE COURSE of an attack on the misuse of public funds by the clerk of the state supreme court, wrote:

> We wish to direct the attention of Judge Botts and of Judge Bratton of the supreme court to what has gone on in their court. We do not suggest anything to Judge Parker. He has grown too accustomed to old methods to see anything wrong in what has happened.

For this he was tried for libelling Judge Parker. Judge David H. Leahy, a warm personal friend of Judge Parker and a local political leader, presided at the trial. The character of the charges was withheld from Magee until he was arraigned, and he was tried before a jury of illiterate Mexican-Americans, not one of whom, according to the reporters, was able to read and write English. During a noon recess, the law books brought into court by the defence were mutilated by the tearing out of all sections relating to libel; and Judge Leahy refused to halt until new books could be secured. The jury in a few minutes found Magee guilty, and the judge sentenced him to twelve to eighteen months' hard labor, comparing him, in passing sentence, to Czolgosz, assassin of McKinley.

MAGEE was immediately tried again, on one of fifteen charges of contempt of court growing out of the first trial. This time there was no jury, and he was tried only before the judge who brought the contempt charge, and had expressed the personal opinion just quoted. Just as the case opened an attempt was made to disbar his attorney on the ground that he had spoken at a banquet in terms of protest against the judicial persecution to which Magee was apparently being subjected. It is perhaps not surprising that on July 13th, Judge Leahy found him again guilty, sentenced him to another three hundred and sixty days in jail, and fined the publishing company which issues his paper $4,050. Papers were immediately served on Magee in another of the fifteen contempt cases. It is to be hoped that Governor Hinkle's pardon in the first two cases will now put an end to this disgraceful affair.

CASES LIKE THIS have an importance in America so great that it is almost impossible to state it seriously without sounding like an hysterical Fourth of July orator. One of the gravest perils which threatens this country today is the steady encroachment of the courts in legislative and executive matters. Chief Justice Taft of the Supreme Court is one of many persons to comment on the usefulness of unrestricted criticism by the press of court action as a restraining influence to prevent judicial abuse of power; yet in several parts of the country, attempts are being made by individual judges to bully the press into silence. In Tennessee, an editor has been fined $300 for publishing an editorial protesting the temporary injunction (now, unhappily, permanent) against the striking railroad shopmen. A judge in Birmingham, Alabama, sent three of the editors of the Birmingham Post to jail for publishing an article in regard to a man accused of murder, saying that he had previously been held on another charge. The New Mexico scandal is conspicuous because it is one of the worst within the memory of this generation; but of its kind it is by no means unique.

England Versus France

ON the surface the Entente remains unbroken. England and France are still officially associated in administering the treaties of peace. But since the day when Germany appealed for an armistice the two nations have been steadily drawing apart, in their essential interests. There was indeed a possibility, at the time of German collapse, that a settlement might be reached whose inherent fairness to all parties interested, victors and vanquished alike, would lay sound foundation for cooperation among the European nations. That possibility lay in the acceptance in good faith of the principles of settlement laid down by President Wilson and accepted, in bad faith, by England and France. Unfortunately the British cause was represented by Lloyd George, of all contemporary statesmen the most distinguished for shortsightedness and contemptuous disregard of all considerations of the historical relations of the great powers. For a few votes, for a momentary popularity, Lloyd George joined the French in outwitting Wilson. At the time it looked to many Englishmen like a very clever stroke. But today most Englishmen must recognize that the vital interests betrayed were not those of America, but those of England.

And now England, after a long period of inaction, in which she limited herself to timid expostulations while her position as a great power grew weaker and weaker, has expressed through Prime Minister Baldwin's speech her determination to reassert herself in the councils of Europe. The peace of Europe, Mr. Baldwin declares, is at stake. The French occupation of the Ruhr is rapidly carrying Germany toward collapse and chaos. Mr. Baldwin lays all the emphasis they will bear upon the economic consequences to England of German collapse. He does not offer even a hint of his views as to the political consequences: France absolutely dominant on the Continent as far as the Russian frontier; England a second Holland, nesting in a coastal outpost by tolerance of the great military power of the mainland. No

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British statesman can afford to call attention to this political aspect of the German question, because to do so would lessen materially the chances of a peaceful settlement with France. But no British statesman will disregard this aspect. It may be assumed, now and for the future, as the chief premise, even though unexpressed, of all British policy.

What Mr. Baldwin proposes to do is first of all to restore reparations to its proper place as a purely financial question. Since the French occupation of the Ruhr it has not been that at all. It has been a pretext for proceeding to the ruin and dismemberment of Germany. It was adapted precisely to that end, by defining reparations not in terms of German capacity to pay but in terms of German duty to pay under provisions of the treaty Germany was compelled to sign under threat of invasion. Mr. Baldwin revives the last German offer, made at the express invitation of England. That offer, with its acceptance of the principle of leaving the amount of reparations and the character of the economic guarantees to an international commission of experts, yielded everything that France could demand, if what she wanted was payment. Mr. Baldwin now announces his intention of taking up this proposal. If possible, he will secure French agreement to a settlement based on it. He will make the concession of a reduction, perhaps the cancellation, of the French debt to England, if thereby he can secure French cooperation. But if the French will not cooperate England will proceed alone to define the obligations of Germany under the treaty and appeal to the world to decide between the moral position of England and that of France.

And France? Poincaré's speech at Senlis was guarded, but it permits us to make a number of deductions. France stands by the London settlement, with its vastly inflated reparations charges. She will have none of an international commission of experts. She has made up her mind that Germany must pay; if Germany will not or cannot, the French will stay in the Ruhr. This is the guarantee which suits France "and which she stands able to keep." "Able to keep!" Is that not a covert challenge to England to try any kind of pressure she pleases to get the French out?

The issue between England and France hardly needs further definition. The French intend to persevere in their present policy, at whatever cost. The English intend to force a change in that policy, at whatever cost. Each nation sees at stake a vital political issue, France, her domination of the Continent, England, her position as a world power.

That is the sort of issue that has hitherto been settled by war. But the world has had too much of war. Both France and England must recognize that they could fight only at the gravest risk of utter social and political collapse. In the last instance either would sacrifice much to avoid so disastrous an outcome. The friendly intervention of a third power, friendly to both England and France, could compel a compromise under which western Europe may live in peace. And the only power whose intervention could be effective at this juncture is the United States.

We intervened in 1917 to save the world, as we thought, from chaos. The world is nearer chaos today than it was in 1917. A conflict between England and France would be a more frightful calamity than the conflict between Germany and the Allies. Are we going to stand by and await eventualities, while the opposition of interests becomes sharper, while the propaganda machines get in motion, while the two nations arm against each other? If we are, our pacific pretensions are pure hypocrisy. The present, not a turbid future, is the time to work for peace.

An Open Letter to Dwight Morrow

SIR: For weeks we have waited in vain for a public accounting by the Amherst trustees of their reasons for forcing the resignation of President Meiklejohn. We regard it as self-evident that education, especially higher education, is a public business, and that no body of men are privileged to take serious action in a matter of education without offering to the public an honest and intelligible statement of their reasons. No one, we think, will deny that the educational development of Amherst College under President Meiklejohn was of the greatest public significance. No other college in America has exhibited in comparable degree the intellectual life that has been stirring in Amherst during President Meiklejohn's régime. For several years it has been generally assumed that a recent Amherst graduate might be expected to display an unusual measure of intellectual vigor, of personal and moral distinction. If trained intellect is the proper product of a college, President Meiklejohn has been astonishingly successful in his work as a college administrator. Yet the trustees of Amherst forced him out and in effect decreed the discontinuance of the work which had yielded such satisfactory results.

We do not understand it. Therefore we address ourselves directly to you, Mr. Morrow, because you are the man who forced Dr. Meiklejohn out of office. Technically, to be sure, you share responsibility with the rest of the Board. Each member who voted against Dr. Meiklejohn no doubt had his own reasons. But your reasons alone count,

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because, as every man conversant with the Amherst affair will testify, it lay with you to decide whether President Meiklejohn should remain in office or resign. That power lay with you because of your personal and intellectual prestige, fortified by the prestige that goes with membership in the House of Morgan. You exercised that power. And therefore the responsibility for an accounting rests squarely on you.

We have heard many surmises, which we are compelled to reject. The least worthy is that President Meiklejohn's management of his personal finances offended your sense of property and propriety. We recall Lincoln's reply to the tale bearer who charged Grant with drinking whisky to excess. "Tell me the brand; I want to feed it to my other generals." If the victories Meiklejohn was winning were your victories you would have advised all other colleges to find presidents who neglected their personal finances.

Another surmise is that you turned against Dr. Meiklejohn because he could not maintain harmony in his faculty. But you are a man of the world, with a keen eye to the various conditions under which men live. You know that harmony in an aggregation of scholars is a Utopian dream. Men can work together harmoniously in a business enterprise, in a political machine, in a church, perhaps. In a college, never. The very intensity of their intellectual effort, the very vigor of their idealistic faith, make harmony impossible. Two-thirds of the faculty were opposed to the president? In most of the colleges of America, the only reason why more than two-thirds are not out after the president's head is horror of the successor in the offing.

There can be no lasting harmony in a faculty. Nor is there need of harmony, as the educational results at Amherst show, if you value those results.

The man in the street surmises that you, as a member of the house of Morgan, could not tolerate Dr. Meiklejohn's liberalism. We cannot accept this surmise. So far as we know, you are as much of a liberal, politically, as Dr. Meiklejohn. It is further surmised that you were displeased with the liberalism of some of Dr. Meiklejohn's appointees. But in recent years lecturers have been brought to Amherst, at your personal expense we believe, who stand much farther to the left than any appointee of Dr. Meiklejohn.

Was it, after all, something much more fundamental that set you against Dr. Meiklejohn: an irreconcilable antagonism between his educational ideals and your own? On the surface those ideals may have appeared identical through a great part of the eleven years of his incumbency. Both of you believe in scholarship, in the free play of ideas, in the fostering of independent personality. But within that apparent agreement a very wide rift between two educational ideals is conceivable. The one is rationally opportunistic, at home in the world as it is and content with it, self-assertive, ruthless at need, never sentimentally loyal, or revengeful. The other is uncompromisingly idealistic, prepared to take up arms against the world, despising the rewards of the world unless they come on the recipient's own terms, with the humility and the unbending pride of the martyr, neither yielding subjection nor accepting obeisance. And as the contrast between your fundamental aims and those of Meiklejohn became more sharply drawn through the successful development of his work, did the antagonism of ideals grow into personal hostility until you were ready to grasp at any means to destroy him?

But this, too, is a surmise, perhaps no more valid than the rest. We deal in surmise, perforce, because you have failed to give the public the direct accounting that is its due. You have left the field to surmises, all of which, except perhaps our own, puts you in a light you cannot find pleasant. To break up a great work for reasons that are trivial is to betray a public trust.

Ford for Despair

THERE is an interesting though only partial parallel between the political situation of Henry Ford in 1923 and that of Herbert Hoover in 1920. Ford, like Hoover, is first choice among the people for the presidential nomination. His support is non-partisan; most of his admirers would vote for him either as Republican or Democrat. Like Hoover, he is so little a party man that no one can say with authority which nomination he will seek, though he has been a Republican in the past. Again like Hoover, his chief alleged qualification is his executive ability as a business man and engineer.

Hoover threw away the presidency when it was within his grasp, by announcing himself a Republican in advance of the Chicago Convention. The leaders of that party did not dream of the seven million majority which awaited them. They expected to win, but by a narrow margin, and would certainly have nominated Hoover in the fear that if they did not, the Democrats would place him at the head of their ticket and sweep the country.

Ford is not likely to commit Hoover's egregious political blunder for he has astute advisers, while the hero of Belgium was guided only by friends even more amateurish than himself. On the other hand, Ford as a candidate has the weakness which inheres in a known sympathizer with third party movements. If he fails to get the Democratic nomination, he is expected to bolt; if he bolts, the politicians are convinced that he will merely

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split the liberal vote. Since that is on the whole more Democratic than Republican, they believe that the net result will be to return Mr. Harding to the White House.

No one, oddly enough, has thought of proposing that a liberal Democrat, like McAdoo, Glass or Davis, should pledge himself if elected to give Ford a place in his Cabinet, as Secretary of Commerce or the Interior, or possibly in a new position as Secretary of Transportation or "without portfolio" to forward industry and transportation in general. It might well be argued that Ford's qualities as industrial pioneer and executive should make him more useful as a member of the Cabinet than as President; or at least, that a man so completely untried in public life should have a preliminary canter before being elevated to the presidency. It might also be urged that since he cannot hope for the nomination of one of the old parties, and cannot win on a third ticket, his followers might better give their allegiance to a man pledged to put Ford into his Cabinet than to be defeated as die-hards. This is just the sort of opportunism which is supposed to appeal to success-worshipping Americans.

That such an idea has not been proposed suggests, in our opinion, some interesting conclusions about the character of the Ford support. His followers are apparently willing for once to abandon the American principle of expediency and go down with flag flying, martyrs in a hopeless cause. Perhaps this is partly because of personal loyalty to the man, complicated by the prevalent and absurd notion that whenever some one bobs up who has outstanding ability in any field whatever except science, art or literature the presidency is the one place for him. Partly, however, it strikes its roots much deeper into the soil of our national life.

Without doubt great masses of our people are profoundly convinced that the industrial organization of our civilization has outrun its political technique; and that as a result needless deprivations and injustices are endured by nearly everyone, while a small minority enjoys profits and privileges far beyond its deserts. For a full generation—to go back no further—politicians have been given preferment on the theory that they would remedy this situation; and for a generation, their efforts have proved unavailing. Today the country is obviously sceptical about the ability of any politician, or the whole tribe of them, to bring about the alterations which are every day more plainly seen to be necessary.

The letters received in the New Republic's Straw Vote make this clear. Throughout them runs a strain which there is good reason to believe is typical of the great mass of the American people today. All existing parties are hopeless, they reiterate; no matter what pre-election promises are made, the people do not find their problems solved by anything which the government does or refrains from doing. Over and over again, the letters of even the most enthusiastic Ford partisans say that "after all, he couldn't make a worse mess of things than the politicians have done." He is even proposed seriously by some persons, as we have previously pointed out, on the ground that the machinery at Washington needs drastic alteration. These people believe that Ford will cause it to break down altogether, and that this is desirable as a preliminary to intelligent reorganization.

This widespread feeling is one which must be reckoned with seriously. Those who entertain it have no illusions about Ford—unless their whole theory that the business man can solve problems which are too much for the politician is an illusion. They recognize Ford's ignorance of many subjects, his inexperience in public life. They acknowledge the aspects of his character which make it almost impossible, for example, to imagine him engaged in negotiations with a foreign power. They are quite willing to run the risk of having this country made the laughing stock of the world in order to secure the application of his firm and vigorous business intelligence to the question of coal, the question of railroads, such matters as hydro-electric power, nitrate production, agriculture, the merchant marine, the St. Lawrence ship canal, the maintenance of forests and the like.

They believe that if we could get even a partial solution of these and similar problems, the country could afford a little lack of dignity in the White House. Certainly, they think, we would be better off than with a dignified nonentity for President whose motto is laissez faire. Their choice of a candidate is not the symbol of a hope, except a forlorn one. If their campaign literature were completely candid, it would carry the slogan, "Ford for Despair." This is not a pleasant mood. Neither is it a safe one for those who in the past have benefitted from the people's apathy and blind confidence.

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Banking Profits

THE June issue of the Federal Reserve Bulletin contains one table that will receive only scant attention. Yet it contains information which is of interest to business men, economists, and publicists, for it shows the profits of the 1,636 state banks and trust companies which are members of the Federal Reserve system, for the six months from June to December, 1922. Every six months the Federal Reserve Board, in its Bulletin, publishes the profits of its members which are state banks and trust companies. Once every twelve months the Comptroller of the Currency issues his report, which, among a great mass of other information, contains a table showing the profits of our national banks.

In view of the significance of profits in the industrial world of today, these sources of material have received less attention and analysis than the public interest would warrant. Profits are the heart of our present industrial system; they are the end for which business men strive and their attainment is the surest mark of success. Information concerning them has been most jealously guarded. The extent of their fluctuations and the causes of their variation are the darkest part of economic theory today. But for this one branch of business, we have definite and fairly exhaustive information on this subject. The national banks and the state and trust company members of the system comprise over sixty percent of all the banking resources of the country.

According to the table in the Federal Reserve Bulletin, the state and trust company member banks during the last half of 1922 had a capital and surplus of $1,184,830,000. Of this amount $634,592,000 represented capital stock paid in; the remainder was surplus. On this investment the banks, after paying all expenses, interest on deposits, and taxes, and covering all losses, earned $63,726,000 net. This amounted to an annual rate of 10.8 percent upon their capital stock and surplus combined, or twenty percent upon their capital stock.

These are certainly handsome earnings. But an examination of the table shows that the banks were not equally successful in all portions of the country. The Federal Reserve system divides the country into twelve districts. In the Dallas district these banks showed a net loss which would amount to an annual rate of 9.4 percent on capital and surplus. In the New York district the net profits were at an annual rate of 14.3 percent.

Are these earnings normal for the banking business? Are the variations between the different districts a mere accident of a single year, or are such differences among the districts common, or at least frequent? What are the causes for the wide variation in the earnings of banks in different sections of the country? And how do the earnings of the banking industry compare with other lines like railroads, public utilities, and manufactures? It is impossible to answer all these questions with scientific thoroughness in the limits of this article, but some interesting facts not generally available can be presented.

Annual earnings of 10.8 percent on capital and surplus are not unusual for the state bank and trust company members of the system. These earnings are, however, somewhat higher than those of the national banks of the United States, all of which are members of the Federal Reserve system. The Comptroller of the Currency reports their earnings only annually, and for the fiscal years ended June 30th. During the four years ending June 30, 1922, these national bank earnings have compared with those of the state bank and trust company members as follows:

Year	National Banks	State Banks and Trust Companies
1919	12.1	12.1
1920	12.8	13.6
1921	9.4	12.0
1922	7.8	10.3

It will doubtless be objected that the last four years were not normal years in the banking field. Loans had expanded rapidly during the war and in the period immediately succeeding the armistice; and interest rates were unusually high during at least a part of that period. What were the earnings of our national and other banks previous to the year 1919? During the decade 1900 to 1909 the national banks of the United States earned an average of 9.9 on their capital and surplus; from 1910 to 1918 inclusive they earned 9.2 percent. For state banks and trust companies the data are rather fragmentary for those earlier years. Several states, however, like Michigan, Ohio, and Kansas, do publish earnings. In Michigan these have averaged more than 10.5 percent over the last dozen years.

In earlier decades the earnings had been more moderate. In the seventies all the national banks combined earned about 8.4 percent, and in the eighties approximately the same rate. In the nineties, with the severe and protracted business depression, earnings averaged 6.5 percent. But since the great technical swing-out which came after the revival of industry in 1898, with its rising prices and its demand for capital, banking profits have tended to approximate 10 percent. During the nineties banking profits were only about 2 percent higher than the rate yielded by high-grade railroad bonds. From 1900 to 1909 they were on the average 6

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percent higher than the bond yield. Since 1910 profits have been twice the rate yielded by high-grade bonds.

The variations in earnings among the different districts were more severe in the last six months of 1922 than in the twelve months ended June 30th of that year, or than they normally are in the banking system as a whole. While the state and member banks of the Dallas district suffered losses during the last six months of 1922 at an annual rate of 9.8 percent, and New York earned profits at the rate of 14.3 percent, the banks of the Dallas district had suffered a loss of only a fraction of one percent in the twelve months just preceding, while New York had earned 11.4 percent.

This variation among districts during the fiscal year 1922 was not peculiar to the state and trust company member banks. The national banks of the country taken together had earned 7.8 percent on capital and surplus during that year, as against 10.3 percent by the state bank and trust company members. But in no district did the national banks combined suffer a loss. In the Dallas district they made a profit of 1.3 percent, while the banks of the Philadelphia district showed profits of 10.1 percent. The New York district earned 9.7 percent during this year. While the range of variation is not as great in normal times as it was during the last six months of 1922, it is nevertheless pronounced in the different sections of the country.

The wide variation in the earnings of different geographical areas is somewhat obscured by the fact that each of the Federal Reserve districts includes several states. The report of the Comptroller of the Currency is more illuminating in this matter of variations. His report groups the national banks into one hundred and sixteen geographical areas instead of twelve, as in the case of the Federal Reserve system. Each of these groups shows the earnings for the national banks of a reserve city or for the country banks of a state. When thus subdivided the fact appears that in the fiscal year 1922 there were nine of these subdivisions in each of which the combined national banks showed a loss. The average rate of loss in these nine areas is 1.6 percent, while average earnings of all national banks were 7.8 percent of capital and surplus. In twenty-five other areas the banks made less than 5 percent, their average earnings being 3.2 percent. In twenty-four others the banks earned less than the average for the country as a whole. In this group the average earnings were 6.9 percent. For the remaining fifty-eight reserve cities or states the earnings were above the average, and came to 9.8 percent. The highest rates were 14.8 percent in Birmingham, Alabama, and 15 percent in Los Angeles. The greatest loss was in the banks of Arizona, and amounted to 7 percent.

The variations from year to year for any one area are almost as pronounced as they are among the various districts of the country in the same year. Thus in the Dallas Federal Reserve district the state banks and trust companies earned 13.8 percent in 1919, compared with their loss in 1922. While the variations in New York City are less, they have ranged from 7.8 percent in the lowest year to 19 percent in the highest year of the last decade.

The causes of these fluctuations are a matter of the utmost importance to the banker who is seeking to make profits and to the economist whose task it is to explain them. An adequate presentation of these causes would call for nothing short of a complete theory of banking profits. There are variations in gross earnings occasioned by fluctuations in business activity, the demand for banking funds, and the rate of interest. These have an inevitable effect upon net earnings, but they are by no means the dominating factor. Thus the state bank and trust company members of the New York district earned 63.6 percent gross on their capital and surplus in the calendar year 1920, and only 54.7 in 1922. Yet their net in the former year stood at 14.9, as against 15.6 in 1922. The difference in the expenses, in interest paid, and in losses charged off more than offset the decline in gross.

In the Dallas district gross earnings fell from 51.3 percent in 1920 to 41.1 in 1922. The net profits fell from 10.8 percent to a loss of 1.6 percent. The fall in gross earnings was by no means the chief factor in bringing about the decline in profits. Expenses, taxes and interest paid fell so that the net earnings of these banks before writing off losses stood at 18 in 1920, and at 12.5 in 1922. But while they wrote off 7.2 percent as losses in the former year, they were obliged to write off 14.1 percent in the latter. This absorbed their entire earnings and left them with a net deficit.

Most interesting is a tabulation showing the national banks during the year ended June 30, 1922, grouped according to their net profits. The following table shows the percentage to capital and surplus of the principal items in their income account.

ALL NATIONAL BANKS OF THE UNITED STATES
Year ended June 30, 1922

Group	Gross Earnings	Earnings before Losses	Losses charged off	Net Profits
	%	%	%	%
Banks suffering a loss	45.2	12.7	14.3	*1.6
Banks earning less than 5 percent	46.1	13.6	10.4	3.2
Banks earning from 5 percent to 7.8 percent	45.9	15.2	8.5	6.7
Banks earning over 7.8 percent	45.0	16.9	7.1	9.8
Average all banks	45.3	16.0	8.2	7.8

*Loss

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It is clear from the above table that success in earning profits for national banks depended largely upon the exercise of sound judgment in making loans and investments. The variation in gross was negligible, and the difference between the lowest class and the most profitable in the net earnings before writing off losses was only 4.2 percent. Yet the difference in their net profits amounted to 11.4 percent.

As a final comment upon the relation of losses written off to net earnings, the national banks of Birmingham, Alabama, wrote off 4.8 percent of their capital and surplus in losses in 1922, and had remaining net profits of 14.8 percent; while the national banks of Arizona wrote off 20.4 percent in losses and showed a net loss from operations of 7 percent. Perhaps these figures showing the relation of losses to variations in net earnings are sufficient to illustrate the amount and quality of "pay dirt" which is to be discovered in the statistics of banking profits. While we are waiting for more complete data on the profits of industry generally, some one might well subject this whole field to scientific analysis.

We do not know enough about profits in most other lines of industry to make any general comparison with banking profits. The Treasury publication entitled Statistics of Income for 1919 and 1920 shows the profits earned by about one hundred and ninety thousand corporations in various industries. One gets the impression from this publication that, in fields like manufacture and trade, profits in those years were slightly higher than in the field of banking. The group of industries which is clearly far below banking is the one containing railroads and public utilities. It would seem that the presidents of railroads and public utility corporations would find the statistics of bank earnings instructive and helpful reading.

DAVID FRIDAY.

Inheriting Acquired Characteristics

NO problem of biology has aroused more ardent controversy than the question of acquired characteristics. Needless to say, what is discussed is not fact—for facts are indisputable—but the interpretation thereof. It is denied by many that acquired characteristics can be inherited, the chief objection being that the germ-plasm (the cells of the reproductive organs) cannot be influenced by soma (the body of the individual). However, a denial is not a sufficient reason for putting a stop to inquiry, and for the last twenty-five years I have never ceased collecting facts bearing upon this most important problem.

Breeding experiments with salamanders have shown that it is possible by artificially changing the environment so to alter the life-habits of the animal that a land salamander assumes the characters of the water salamander, and vice versa. Salamandra maculosa, which is yellow and black, inhabits the lowlands, is oviparous, and produces at birth thirty to forty gilled offspring which remain in the larval phase and live in water for some six weeks before assuming an appearance similar to the mother, and taking to the land. Salamandra atra is black, lives at high altitudes, and is viviparous, giving birth to only two young, which from the time of birth are land animals. If a pregnant black salamander is dissected, a dozen or more young are found in utero. Of these only the two situated furthest back are destined to be born: all the others during the period of the mother's pregnancy degenerate and are devoured by the hindermost two. The offspring while in utero possess long gills which become absorbed before birth. If a pregnant Salamandra maculosa is kept in dry surroundings, the first generation is born at the usual stage, and perishes unless placed in water. At the next pregnancy (if the experiment is repeated) the larvae are somewhat larger, for they have spent a longer time in the uterus of the mother. Approximately at the fourth pregnancy the offspring are born as fully developed land salamanders possessing lungs and limbs. As the stage at which the young are born advances, the number of offspring decreases, and instead of thirty to forty only two to three individuals are produced at birth. *Salamandra maculosa has assumed the breeding habits of Salamandra atra, and these habits are transmitted to the following generations: the characteristics acquired by the individual are inherited by its descendants.*

However, this experiment cannot be regarded as conclusive. Other experiments have been carried out on the influence of the external environment on color-change. There exist two forms of Salamandra maculosa, one striped, the other asymmetrically spotted. If young spotted salamanders are kept upon a black background, they lose much of their yellow markings, and after a few years become almost entirely black. Their offspring, if kept under the same conditions, present a row of yellow spots, and if the individuals are transferred to a yellow background the spots fuse to form a band. If, on the other hand, the black and yellow salamanders are kept on a yellow background, the yellow increases at the expense of the black. If the descendants of these individuals are again kept on a yellow background, the yellow markings take the form of wide bilateral bands; if they are then transferred to a black background the yellow be-

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comes reduced, though not to the same extent as in the offspring of parents kept on a black background, and the yellow markings are arranged in bilateral rows of spots.

It is thus possible to convert one form of salamander into the other, and both the forms when converted breed true. There is, however, one difference between the naturally striped individuals and those produced artificially. If a spotted individual is crossed with a naturally striped one, all their offspring are spotted; these when interbred produce a progeny in which one individual in every four on an average is striped. An artificially striped individual when crossed with a spotted one produces offspring all of which are intermediate in pattern, i. e., have symmetrical rows of spots.

The difference in the mode of inheritance between two races which on inspection appear identical has led me to the recognition of the distinction existing between "old" (inherited) and "new" (acquired) characteristics. A "new" characteristic exerts a stimulus, or irritation, which is capable of exercising an influence upon the germ-plasm. An "old" characteristic is no longer capable of exercising that influence.

The main objection to the theory of inheritance of acquired characteristics is that of germinal continuity, the theory formulated by Weismann and stating that germ-plasm originates in one ancestral rudiment and is transmitted from generation to generation, and can be neither produced nor influenced by the soma, the body of the individual. In order to test the validity of this statement, and in this way to cut the Gordian knot—though not with a sword, for I am an ardent pacifist, but with a scalped, I carried out what might be accepted as experimentum crucis. The ascidian Ciona intestinalis possesses at the free anterior end of its body two siphons which serve for inhalation and exhalation. If the siphons are cut off they regenerate and grow longer than before. On repeated amputation the siphons become excessively long. The interesting fact is that offspring of such amputated individuals also possess greatly elongated siphons, i. e., the tendency to local growth is inherited, and operation is no longer necessary. A second operation was now combined with the first. The posterior end of the body of Ciona is fixed to stones or weeds. At the hind end of the inhalent tube begins a coiled intestine which is S-shaped, and continues upwards to the end of the exhalent tube. The sex organs are situated in the coil of the intestine. Individuals with artificially produced long siphons were used, and the whole posterior end of the body with the genital organs was removed. The remaining part of the body then built up the complete posterior portion *with the genital organs:* when such individuals produced offspring, these likewise possessed very long siphons.

The results of this experiment are suggestive. Not only is the soma capable of producing new germ-plasm, but this germ-plasm carries a tendency to local growth, a tendency acquired by the individual in the course of its life. Obviously, then, this germ-plasm could not have come from some ancestral rudiment existing from the beginning of the world. This tendency has been transmitted from the body, and the body thus is a necessary link between parent and offspring in the inheritance of the "new."

It must not be believed that the processes described above are limited only to salamanders and lower organisms: similar facts underlie the life processes of other classes of the animal kingdom, of man himself.

PAUL KAMMERER.

The Coal Commission Reports

THE first report of the United States Coal Commission—its preliminary survey of the anthracite industry—is neither a pleasant surprise nor an unpleasant disappointment. It contains as much relevant fact as could have been expected at this time, and its recommendations rest at a point which might have been predicted from a look at the balance of forces furnished by the technical equipment, native intelligence, honesty of purpose, and conservative social philosophy of the commissioners.

The anthracite industry exploits deposits occupying a small part of the state of Pennsylvania, and used chiefly for domestic purposes by the inhabitants of the northeastern states. The coal deposits themselves are the property of a comparatively few owners, and the bulk of the supply is mined by nine large companies, which are in turn owned or controlled by the "anthracite railroads." While no actual monopoly of this limited supply is known to exist, the nine large companies do not practise competition with each other either in setting prices or dealing with labor. About one-third of the deposits have been exhausted, and as time goes on the necessary cost of getting out hard coal will increase, and the rate of production will be limited.

The traditional attitude toward natural resources in the United States is that they are the unrestricted private property of the individuals having title to them, who may reap as much profit as circumstances permit. Classical economics teaches that extortion will remedy itself if free competition exists. Where a virtual monopoly arises, however, as it easily may in such a case, and where the

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product is essential to the public, public control is necessary and justified. Applying this principle, which has been recognized in the case of railroads and other public utilities, the Coal Commission enunciates the conclusion that the anthracite industry is affected by the public interest and should be subject to some sort of control—to be specified later. Essential in this control are uniform accounting and statistical methods, combined with full publicity. Less than this the commission could scarcely have said. Yet saying it marks a tremendous advance, since we have not previously had even much information about this industry. The commission refuses to go further by recommending government ownership either by purchase or expropriation, believing "that the principle of individual and corporate responsibility should be maintained as most likely to insure economical and efficient management." This is an expression of faith rather than a conclusion based on adequate research, and unless some fuller discussion of the possible advantages of nationalization is contained in the complete report, the commission will hardly have grappled closely with its problem.

The commission furnishes some interesting figures on what happens to the consumer's dollar paid for coal. In the first place it is noted that both wholesale and retail prices of stove coal have doubled in ten years. The prices of most other commodities doubled also between 1913 and 1920, but the deflation of 1921 took them back to within fifty or sixty percent of the pre-war level. Not so with anthracite.

In Boston the consumer's dollar in the fall of 1922 was divided as follows: 32 cents or about a third to the dealer, 23 cents or about a quarter to railroads and other transportation companies, and 45 cents, or less than half, to the mine. In New York the division was, 26 cents to dealer, 18 cents to railroad, and 56 cents to mine. The proportion naturally would be expected to vary according to the distance of the city from the mines, with a consequent difference of freight charges. This is not always the case, however. There seems to be a wide variation of dealers' margins and profits among cities as well as in the same city. This suggests possible economies in the important function of retail distribution, either by its better organization or by price control or both. The possibility is emphasized by the discovery that there has been a general and marked increase in dealers' margins in the past five years. It is also pointed out that the dealers more favorably situated in respect to sources of supply may, even though their business methods are no more efficient than others', profit exorbitantly by charging a market price set by the marginal high-cost retailers. Here is a first-class opportunity for proper allocation of supply among dealers on one hand, and for cooperative or municipal distribution on the other.

The wholesaler occupies an important place in high prices during a period of shortage. Many speculators who never actually handle a ton of coal buy and sell it on paper, so that by the time it reaches the retailer it bears several profits representing no service whatever.

Next in line come the freight charges. It has been the practice of the anthracite interests to take a large part of their profits out of transportation rather than out of mining itself. This enables them to take a larger toll from the coal mined by independents, which must be shipped over the lines of the large interests. Carrying coal involves a low operating cost, since it is shipped in large cars, fully loaded, in trains of maximum tonnage. Yet the rate on anthracite is higher than that on bituminous coal and seems relatively too high when the rates on other commodities are considered. The great profits of the coal carriers testify to the possibility of lowering anthracite rates, and the commission properly recommends an earnest consideration of this matter to the Interstate Commerce Commission, which has jurisdiction over it.

Mine costs themselves have doubled since 1913. Labor costs have doubled on account of wage increases—a fact which is not in itself to be deplored, when we consider the desirability of raising the wage-earners' standard of living. Although the commission does not call attention to the fact, wages have more than doubled in manufacturing industries, yet this has not involved a corresponding increase in the prices of the products. Mine supplies have not increased as much as labor cost, but "other expenses" have increased more. These expenses include, as major factors, "increasing charges for royalty and depletion." This point, although it is not emphasized by the commission, leads to the crucial question of how large a return the owners of coal deposits are entitled to.

The coal industry is characterized by the fact that it has "wasting assets." In other words, its original investment is used up year by year as the coal is taken out of the ground. To meet this situation the owners have devised the system of depletion charges. A certain amount is charged every year against operating costs, so that when the mine is exhausted, an amount equal to its original value will be on hand to replace it. In addition to these charges, a royalty is charged against each ton of coal mined, which represents the owner's profits. When the mine is finally abandoned, therefore, the owner has had his yearly profit on it, and also comes out with his capital intact. On this account the valuation placed on the coal deposits is doubly important, as well as the rate of royalty charged. If the valuation of the mine were what was originally paid for it,

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there could be no objection, granted the continuance of the capitalist system. This is the principle for which the anthracite miners contend. But the mining interests have found many ways to increase values far above the original cost. They are constantly writing up the value by means of "surveys" and "appraisals" devised by ingenious and high-priced engineers and accountants. Hence the constantly rising royalty and depletion charges. Hence the enormous accumulation of surpluses on the part of the coal companies noted by the commission.

This crucial question the commission dodges, except in its recommendation for publicity. "The opportunities for inflating figures of costs are so numerous and the questions as to how investment shall be reckoned are so unsettled that without such continuous publicity the commission fears that the concentrated control of the anthracite industry may take indefensible profits." That is a mild statement indeed. By sufficiently detailed accounting questionnaires the commission might expose past and present cost methods leading to profits which nine people out of ten would think indefensible. Concerning the various suggested methods of reckoning the value of investment the commission remarks only that neither the market value nor the cost of reproduction is a fair test, the first because it depends on prices and profits which are themselves the result of monopoly control, and the second because a coal mine cannot be reproduced at any price. These remarks, unassailable as they are, tend in the right direction. The commission will be well advised if it goes on to state a principle of valuation which is in keeping with the public interest. Legally, it is true, the courts may have the final word about valuation, but it is the duty of the commission to give guidance to both the courts and the public, based on concrete study of the industry, rather than to pass the whole responsibility on to judges who are too likely to decide the issue on the basis of antiquated economic superstitions and legalistic formulae.

Because the commission has no principle of valuation, and insufficient accounting information, such figures as it gives about the division of mine cost among labor and other elements are erected on a shaky foundation. It is regrettable in these circumstances that the report adopts the operators' figure of $5.75 for the average mine cost of the nine large companies in 1923. The miners estimate this cost at $5.20, if proper valuation and accounting standards be adopted. Some effort to reconcile these figures is in order before the complete report is written.

The study of miners' earnings and employment appears to have been conscientiously made; it was a sound procedure to state the figures, not by large averages, but classes of occupations. The yearly income for a family of five earned by miners who are fully employed is said to range in general between $1,500 and $2,000. The topmost figure is slightly below the amount required in most medium-sized cities, such as those inhabited by anthracite miners, to sustain a level of existence specified in a budget of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics as the "minimum of health and decency."

The recommendations for clauses to be embodied in the new agreement evidently contemplate the building up of a machinery of adjustment and conciliation under the agreement, similar to the impartial machinery in the men's clothing industry. A continuing umpire for the conciliation board, with a voice but no vote, is recommended. A labor manager and staff for the employers, who can investigate and settle disputes at the mines, would be added. Committees are recommended to codify the provisions of the agreement in the light of present practices, and to make an engineering study of the job as a better basis for rate-making. These recommendations seem reasonable and helpful. Less can be said for the proposal to terminate the agreement at a different time from the termination of the bituminous agreement, for while this would make an anthracite strike of less moment, it would by the same token reduce the bargaining power of the union. The proposal which would allow time for a presidential investigation of any disagreement before the termination of the contract is a better measure for insuring peace with justice, if we elect just and discerning Presidents.

The one radical and fearless paragraph of the document is that which urges that the President be authorized, in the event of a strike or lockout, to take over the mines, operate them and distribute the product, fixing wages, prices, and compensation to owners—the latter subject to judicial review. This semi-communistic measure is thought advisable when the wage-earners take the only means possible to protect themselves from what they may consider unjust terms of employment, although the commission opposes such a mildly socialistic measure as buying out the owners in order to see that the public and the workers are protected from possible injustice. Indeed, the commission does not even set down a principle for the fair remuneration of property. It would have been the better part of wisdom to be a little more daring in enunciating plans which would prevent a crisis in the industry, and less so in contemplating action when the crisis arrives. It is too easy to imagine the government operating the mines, paying to property what the courts might consider a "fair return," and in doing so acting as union-smasher for the employers—perhaps in a wage-reduction campaign. The Palmer and Daugherty injunctions have already injured the prestige of government by implicating it with the interest of capital in labor disputes about as much as it can be injured without grave danger to the body politic.

GEORGE SOULE.

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The Ruhr in June

WHEN I began to sense, through first-hand observation and inquiry, something of the situation in the Ruhr I was astonished—not at what I learned, but at the fact that so little of what is going on there is known or understood by Americans. That feeling leads me to attempt to set down here some of the absorbingly interesting and significant phases of the Ruhr crisis as I saw them late in June.

There can be no doubt that the growing infuriation of the Germans in the Ruhr is creating a state of very high tension in that area. During the visit there from which I have just returned many men and women made their intense feeling vivid to me. What I have seen and what has been told me leaves no doubt as to the reasons for the bitterness now felt.

One does not arrive at these reasons easily. The citizens of the Ruhr are terribly frightened and very slow to express themselves, as I speedily discovered. I sought an interview with a city official in Essen. When arrangements were completed I received a cryptic unsigned note, delivered to my hotel by messenger, which simply read, "Will you meet me at . . . at ten and a half?" On arrival there I was taken to a public building and then through many rooms and into a remote corner for the interview.

In the course of another interview I asked a high official to write a request to Berlin for certain information. He gave me the address and proper credentials but declined to write. "If I should write such a letter," he said, "and the French found it I would be sentenced to at least two years' imprisonment."

I spent two hours with one of the leaders of the railway employees, talking behind locked doors. My informant spoke of certain affidavits and photographs and I asked for them.

"We have nothing at hand," was the response. "We do not know at what moment the French will search our offices and if they found anything I might be executed. We have ways of getting them across the frontier and will send them to you."

On the streets I found people talking in low tones and constantly looking cautiously about them. Twice as we waited for a street car I was asked to moderate what seemed to me to be a very subdued tone of voice.

Illustrations might be multiplied but these are sufficient to give some idea of the terror which grips the hearts of citizens of the Ruhr.

One Sunday in Hamm, I encountered two groups of German railway employees, numbering altogether about two hundred and fifty men, who had just been expelled from their homes in Mülheim, Herne and other places. Some of them said they had been arrested on the street and forthwith deported without being permitted to advise their friends that they had been taken. A small group from another city said that French soldiers came to their homes between five and six in the morning (June 30th) routed them out of bed and gave them ten minutes to prepare to leave. They were not allowed to wash, to use a lavatory or to eat.

Seven of them were placed in a small cab one and a half meters (about five feet) high and were kept there waiting or in transit at different periods for seven hours. The party included one man fifty-seven years old who graphically described how he was compelled to stand, hunched over as the cab was too low for him to stand erect. This grizzled veteran resented, perhaps most of all, that all of them had been refused food or water from the time they were seized until nine-thirty that night.

When they were taken none of them knew where they were to be sent; and the French would not give any information to them or their families. The women and children were given notice that they must leave in three or four days and that they would not be permitted to take anthing with them except what could be carried by hand.

The men were not afterwards allowed to send any message to their friends or families indicating where they were. They were, however, circumventing this by writing notes which were to be sent by courier across the line into the Ruhr area. This method of communication is becoming increasingly difficult and dangerous since the French are erecting barbed wire entanglements along the lines of occupation.

In Essen I learned of a family, just expelled, whose ten-year-old daughter was then away on a visit. They begged in vain to remain two days longer until the girl returned. She was expected in Essen the day I left and would not know, of course, where her parents were or when she could join them.

The expulsion of railway employees is a most prolific cause of indignation because of the alleged mistreatment of these men at the hands of the French soldiers. For two hours, behind locked doors, I talked with a responsible representative of the railroad syndicate. Quietly but with evident feeling he poured out stories of hardships to which he said his fellow-workers had been subjected. Characteristic of more than a hundred instances within his personal knowledge, he says, is the story of the occupation of the Wanne railway station. The station was seized just as a train was coming in. Passengers, he said, were obliged

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to leave without their baggage. The conductor of the train went up and down the platform closing the doors of the compartments to protect the baggage within from theft. While he was doing this a French soldier clubbed him over the head with the butt of his gun.

Another instance was narrated of a railway guard whose duty it was to watch the railway lines from one of the innumerable little watch towers scattered along all German lines. The line this guard watched ran into Essen from Kray. It was occupied by the French while the guard was off duty. In Germany railway employees wear a uniform which, I am told, they buy themselves. Hearing of the occupation this guard went to get his uniform—for a suit of clothes is to a laboring man today an almost unreplaceable possession because of its cost. He went alone but friends who watched him saw him seized by French soldiers and taken out of sight. They heard shots, after which in course of time, his dead body was turned over to his family. Presumably he was executed by the French for "attempted sabotage."

A professor in a school for miners was seized, charged with distributing some of the many anti-French posters which mysteriously appear on street corners and in other public places. One of the pupils had been found with some in his possession and the master was charged with responsibility for distributing them. He was tried, found guilty, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment.

From unimpeachable non-German sources, I learned of two young telegraph men both of whom were kicked and flogged unmercifully. One refused to charge his mate with sabotage and the other would not give the address of other workmen and of the storage depot. One of them has now "a violent palsy of the head and arms," the other "is very deaf with one ear drum burst and scars on his face which is still puffy and swollen."

A whole class of school boys was arrested because one of their number saw a German-speaking French soldier and accused him to the police of being a spy. Six of these boys were forced to run the gauntlet while the other eight watched. "They were beaten chiefly over the head, but their bodies also were covered with scars."

Expulsions, executions, imprisonments, floggings, rape—these are the all-absorbing topic of conversation and stories of them are on every tongue. No doubt many of these have grown in the telling but there are enough authentic incidents to create a justifiable atmosphere of terror and dismay.

Less terrorizing in their effect but almost equally embittering to Germans are some of the alleged practices of the French in the administration of the occupied area.

The use of colored troops is one source of grave offence. A man told me with great bitterness of seeing black soldiers in charge of German prisoners who were being transported from one point to another. Another described an occasion when railway employees in Trier were expelled by black troops who had made themselves especially offensive by throwing furniture out of the rooms through windows on the second floor.

The issuance of visés has also caused great bitterness. All residents of the Ruhr must have a French visé in order to go to Elberfeld on business or to any other point outside of the Ruhr area. The French are charged with making it unnecessarily difficult to secure such visés. I learned from non-German sources of one instance in which a queue of Germans waited from four o'clock in the morning until five in the afternoon. The issuance of visés was announced for nine o'clock. There are people who tell you of having waited in line all night or even for days to get a visé. The Friday I was in Essen a line was forming early in the evening for the following morning.

The French officers, of whom I saw few officers in the Ruhr, are charged with carrying whips. None of those I saw carried whips but I was told on excellent authority of men who had been struck or even flogged sometimes for simply failing to salute. The Germans resent such instances beyond words. To them the whip is a symbol of slavery and without exception they said to me, "We will not be slaves."

Though the French have thoroughly terrorized and greatly embittered the Ruhr citizens, the latter are not one whit less determined in their resistance to the French occupation.

One simply does not hear of any railway employees who would work under French occupation. To the last man they are ready to face the almost certain expulsion which awaits them. I shall never forget the old man nearly sixty who wept as he talked of his wife, old and alone, who must follow him into exile within three days, leaving behind the little home representing the accumulated savings of a lifetime. With one accord the men with whom I have talked have declared they never will work for the French.

The German government has had much to say about this policy of passive resistance. Altogether it has managed to give the very definite impression that German workmen in the Ruhr are passively resisting the French by and because of the orders of their government.

But the fundamental reasons actuating the workmen are much more than a Berlin decree. In an interview, two days before I entered the Ruhr, with Peter Grassman and Alexander Kroll, Vice-President and Secretary, respectively, of what may be phrased in English as the General Federation of German Trade Unions, Mr. Grossman said to me: "No government could order us to undertake passive resistance and no government can force us to desist."

ROY DICKERSON.

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Italian Notes

I.

Echoes

CARUSO and other artists as well, violinists especially, the custode is explaining to a party of travellers as I enter the Baptistery, used to come every summer to Pisa when he was taking the cure nearby, and try his voice with the echo that the signori had just heard; though he himself regrets extremely, the custode says, not to have Caruso's voice to make them the more pleasure. The custode shows his travellers to the door and I turn to look at the Baptistery, the primitive motifs in the panels that Niccoló Pisano set into his pulpit, the font, the balustrade, the marble, with the subtle variation of its surface, and finally at the dome, with its round inner balcony of arches against the curves beyond. By this time the custode being rested offers to make me the pleasure of the echo; and at the first sound of it breaks down all my resistance to being shown and guided and fed with those naïve commonplaces on which tourists are thought to batten. The custode takes the note; the echo brings it back to us lengthened, redoubled, suspended for minutes, diminishing to a beautiful murmur and to a last faint dying something that is stiller than any silence. The custode sings four notes in a scale. The echo brings it back, waves and great rhythms of chords over and over. He claps his hands and the echo clatters like sharp rain or musketry in stone streets. The custode smiles. He sings a long, low note and the octave above it; and the music around the dome rises and circles and sinks and rises again, soaring in that high space and seeming, when the last sigh of it is past to have become the walls themselves. The custode bows and smiles and I make him repeat his performance for me and then for the third time and the fourth. He is pleased with himself and his position; I am pleased with the universe. I seem to have come on the pure material of all music, before idea begins in it. I seem to have seen the pure color from which music paints, or the body in which it lives.

By this time I observe that another traveller has entered the Baptistery, a lady, and that she is looking across at me and the custode with a long straight-levelled disapproval. She is a lady in a gray suit with a small hat, a silver chain and nose glasses, not tall but yet not dainty. Her eyes are serious, uninspired, assured. And by some vengeful spurt of fate and nature in her she has bought, in Paris no doubt, on her way down, a smart and ultra scarf, which she has draped with an odd coquetry about her hat almost below her eyes, till she resembles some stern sheep in a wedding veil. Her lips are thin. She holds the open Baedeker before her as she looks at us and turns again to the inspection of the walls, as if she had been merely waiting till we chose to remember ourselves. The lady's meaning for me and the custode is clear enough—how can we be so loose and flippant in the midst of this fine and famous art?

But I am so excited with the thought that there is breath enough in the world somehow for all music, however poor the custode's or my note may be, that I am callous to her rebuke. The custode is flattened to his bench in the corner. And then I see that the lady is on her way out.

The lady does not know that art is as natural and happy and tragic as all life is, and that these sculptures and colors, these arches, this dome, the rhythms of the design, the gilding and the rich ornamentation, are echoes, also, of the half-thwarted and pressing life in us. But she does know that art is a serious and dutiful department of culture. And she knows that if you notice the attendants in these places they will be expecting you to give them a fee.

Sketching in Siena

Sketching about the world seems to me more and more to be a doubtful affair at best, except for mere hints and notes and records of moods or design, some special or elusive felicity, discovered in nature or art and needing to be recorded for future use. And certainly at the most only very fine artists can hope to lift the kind of painting that aims at the reproduction of scenes and places into anything that anyone with taste would want. But in Siena now the season and the low exchange have filled the town with artists come to sketch. In my walks I chance upon them everywhere, with their tools and easels and boxes and pads.

Representative art or no, it takes courage to set oneself up against Siena. How shall one render in paint the primitive and yet sophisticated austerity of this town? What of the swift flight of walls and towers, the romantic severity of conception? How achieve a manner that expresses that breath of time that informs this city, the intellectual distinction of it? Likeness will not do it nor any mere style out of some school. Velasquez's two little landscapes in the Prado might have been painted yesterday, so modern are they and up-to-date; and they are suave and gracious in brush and color. But Velasquez chose the garden of the Villa Medici and places suited to his mind. El Greco did Toledo, but that solemn and macabre prospect was his before he saw it. But what style must be discovered for Siena, since for the painter style in the end is all there is to a town, and all else accident? Painting here, one might think, could well be a matter of prayer and fasting.

But how cheerfully after jam and toast these painters go forth! Alone or in groups they go, and when they find a thing they want to do, pop down and do it. They are a dear and lovable lot, loving the world as they do, its surfaces and shapes and changing lights. That depths of feeling and time for reflection, however, might be needed to discover the painting essentials in such a scene you might easily imagine. You might think the exact mixture of realism and abstract design that would express the elusive Mangia Tower would be something of a hurdle. What does one think of the thing one paints? If one has no ideas about it does one just go and paint, like a debutante talking when she can think of nothing to say?

How these painters solve such problems I can see any day in the salon of the hotel, when everyone is there after lunch. Some got it very well this morning and some had trouble with the light. I can see black and whites and drawings in sepia; and our old friend the Palazzo Pubblico in our old friend the soft bath of English watercolor, with no shock, no style of austerity, nothing but washy bricks and a stale resemblance. I see the impressionistic poultices of bright paint and dun. I recognize the pic-

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turesque views, purple hills; idyllic pictures of old Italy and of sunny Italy with fruits, flowers and peasants; and finally those works of art more endearing than any of the lot and not much worse, by ladies who have always sketched a little, bless their hearts; scenes in Siena, gentle ministrations to some harsh wall or battlement that remind me of Galileo's daughter, the little nun, bringing him baked pears. All these painters with their sketches are like Mr. Edward Hutton and most of the company of writers on Italy, who soften everything they touch when they write of a city or a piece of art with their stories and legends and events, and give us anything and everything except the sharp and difficult quality that is the point.

At least it can be said for Cubism, dada, and many other isms, that they have lessened the amount of sketching. Their concern with idea and design have helped do that. For the ordinary artists doubtless, who will never be much anyhow, this out of doors between meals with canvas and color is no doubt better than sitting indoors cooking up insides, Freudian and whatnot, to express. And this high town in Tuscany is a change after close studios in Paris, London and New York. The pity is that painting were not a cure instead of an art.

The Texan

He grew up on a ranch somewhere north of San Antonio. But a year ago an oil well came in on the land, and his father, being well enough off now to afford it easily, sent him abroad for a year to travel. And so he turns up here in Assisi, this little town of St. Francis' in the Umbrian hills.

He had had two sessions at some college in his state, he tells me, but most of his twenty-three years had been spent on the ranch, where his special business was with the cattle on the ranges. At some seasons of the year he had been a long way from the ranch-house, most of the time alone. Sometimes for three months he saw no one except the boy who came once a week with supplies and spent the night and went home again next morning. He had read some, four or five Shakespeare plays for one thing, he remembered, and some books he found lying around the house; but most of the time he spent riding the range on his horse; or looking after cattle that strayed up the little canyon there was there; or often just sitting around, as he called it. His camp was by a stream where there was a clump of trees, all the rest of the country was bare as far as you could see and spotted with brush; and there was a narrow pool where he could take a plunge. He cooked and took care of himself. There were a great many birds that settled in the trees and always at night you could hear the coyotes in the brush.

He likes Assisi. He has read little or nothing about it except what is in the guide-book, but he feels at home in Assisi, which is a way of understanding it. Without knowing much about the various periods of art in the upper and lower churches, he goes there again and again. He comes in from the narrow, high old streets with a clear look in his gray eyes. I see him down below the south gate walking along the path under the olive trees beside the stream. Twice at night I have run on him standing in the piazza by the lower church looking up that steep, incredible stair that seems to lead into the deep sky. And in his room he has got now a little framed picture of St. Francis. He says nothing of any of this. Day after day he says he must go soon, but he stays on.

STARK YOUNG.

VERSE

Here Comes the Thief

Here comes the thief
Men nickname Time,
Oh, hide you, leaf,
And hide you, rhyme.
Leaf, he would take you
And leave you rust.
Rhyme, he would flake you
With spotted dust.
Scurry to cover,
Delicate maid
And serious lover.
Girl, bind the braid
Of your burning hair;
He has an eye
For the lusciously fair
Who passes by.
O lover, hide—
Who comes to plunder
Has the crafty stride
Of unheard thunder.
Quick—lest he snatch,
In his grave need,
And sift and match,
Then sow like seed
Your love's sweet grief
On the backward air,
With the rhyme and the leaf
And the maiden's hair.

HAZEL HALL.

The Snowflake

When we are young and wake from sleep,
What pillow-fights we share with Life!
We laugh and punch, and never dream
How Death can end that joyful strife.

We'll not let Time destroy that dream,
But in old age our spirit brave
Shall, like a snowflake in its fall,
Dance while it hovers o'er the grave.

Contented men are still my theme,
Who—though too poor for ivory keys—
Still whistle with their naked lips
Their happy tunes of careless ease.

W. H. DAVIES.

The Two Heavens

When, with my window opened wide at night,
To look at yonder stars with their round light,
In motion shining beautiful and clear—
As I look up, there comes this sudden fear:
That, down on earth, too dark for me to see,
Some homeless wretch looks up in misery;
And, like a man that's guilty of a sin,
I close my blinds, and draw my body in.
Still thinking of that Heaven, I dare not take
Another look, because of that man's sake;
Who in the darkness, with his mournful eyes,
Has made *my* lighted home his paradise.

W. H. DAVIES.

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CORRESPONDENCE

The I. W. W. and Prohibition

SIR: In connection with Richard T. Jones's article on The Wet Drive and the A. F. of L., it is interesting to note that the I. W. W. also took a determined stand against liquor. The attitude of the "Wobblies" was shown in the recent May Day strike in protest of the confinement of political prisoners. One of the first acts of the I. W. W. was to close the bootleg joints in the North End, the resort of Portland's laborers. This was attended to by a committee appointed for the purpose, and in most cases there was no trouble in closing down the joints. Handbills declaring that the worker "can't fight booze and the boss at the same time," and urging him to "Stay Away From Booze!" were widely distributed, the same action being taken in all the larger cities of the Northwest, I understand.

The conservative press was somewhat dumfounded at this action of the "unlawful elements" seeking to enforce the law. The action admittedly made a good impression in almost all quarters. Its most important phase was that the I. W. W. organization had come to understand the ill effect of booze upon the morale of individual worker.

Reed College, SAMUEL S. WHITE.
Portland, Oregon.

"When Good Fellows Get Together"

SIR: I have read Robert Littell's article Hop in Noble with considerable amusement and also Mr. Noble's letter in the issue of July 4th.

But there is another aspect of this subject likewise to be considered, namely, who are these "Nobles of the Mystic Shrine?" In our community they embody a large percentage of the citizens most active in good work. They are not all "Babbitts," by any means. They believe that there is a time to play as well as a time to be serious, and a time to laugh as well as a time to frown, and I dare say that their mental average would show as strong a percentage as that of the subscribers to the New Republic.

Why not consider "the other side of Main Street?" Why were these men in Washington? To amuse themselves? Yes. To cultivate fraternity? Yes. To provide a great spectacle? Yes. But, what else? They were also there to consider the annual distribution of more than one million dollars in behalf of the crippled children of America, without distinction of creed or race. They were there to tell the story of more than two million dollars distributed in charities where they were most needed last year. They were there to cultivate friendship. In fact, they were just regular human beings, and wherever I have found them, north, south, east or west, they are the sort of fellows who have a ear open to the cry of distress or sorrow and the sort who are always willing to listen to the other fellow's side of the question, in fact, the sort who are making the good old U. S. A., the best place on earth in which to live.

G. A. KENDERDINE.

Iowa City, Iowa.

The Kansas Court Experiment is Not Dead

SIR: Your article on the Kansas Court in the June 27th issue of the New Republic assumes that compulsory arbitration is dead. "The Kansas decision bars the door to one experiment." On the contrary, that decision expressly recognized the power of the state to force abritration in emergencies involving public service companies and that vaguer group of enterprises that are said to be "affected with a public interest." As this category widens with its process of the suns, it is possible that the decision, instead of killing the experiment of compulsory arbitration, will strengthen it.

The basic problem in compulsory arbitration is to secure adjustments by judicial or quasi-judicial process that will not violate economic law. Admitting that wages may not be fixed at a plane that will differ permanently from the general average fixed by supply and demand, we may nevertheless hope that the arbitration boards will be able to make the rise and fall of wages less precipitate and to mitigate the economic losses that an unhampered law of supply and demand of labor and jobs sometimes produces. Against a downward trend in wages, the arbitration board would stand powerless. But is it too much to hope that its decrees would cause a more orderly and deliberate reduction than that which our present unregulated system enjoys? Similarly, the board could not stay the upward movement in the wage scale when labor is scarce and jobs are plentiful. But, again, is it too much to hope that the awards of the board would prevent those excessive wage demands which frequently characterize boom times and bring periods of prosperity to a close?

In short, the basic problem of compulsory arbitration is the same problem that faces every excursion of government into the fields of industry. It is the problem, not of overriding economic laws, but of nullifying their more rigorous and harsh applications. If the step can be taken in regard to hours of labor and conditions of work, it may also be taken in regard to wages. If it can be persuaded through voluntary arbitration boards, it may also be compelled. The difficulties and intricacies of economic problems at the bar of justice do not call for a dismissal but for a more detailed and scientific study of the problem. If the end is peace with justice, the way is not to be avoided merely because it is perilous.

Vanderbilt University, CHARLES J. TURCK.
Nashville, Tennessee.

The American-Nansen Relief

SIR: The following resolutions which were adopted by the American-Nansen Committee for Relief of Russian Children at the June meeting of its executive committee will, I believe, be of interest to your readers:

Whereas, the Executive Committee of the American-Nansen Committee for Relief of Russian Children learns with regret of the withdrawal on August 15th next, of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen from the field of general emergency relief in Russia, especially insofar as the millions of orphaned and underfed children of Russia are concerned; and

Whereas, in view of this approaching withdrawal and of the cessation, on July 15th, of the work of the American Relief Administration, the American-Nansen Committee for Relief of Russian Children feels that the responsibility devolving upon it for the succor of the little children of Russia is only the more compelling, and, in consequence, its duty to continue and by all means to enlarge its work of child-salvage the clearer;

Therefore be it resolved, that the work of child-saving in Russia conducted for the past eighteen months by the American-Nansen Committee for Relief of Russian Children shall continue until it is clear that the resources of Russia and the purpose of the Russian government shall make the lives and the health of those who constitute the coming generation in Russia reasonably secure, and that, so soon as may be practicable, a nation-wide appeal be made by this Committee for the salvation of the future of a land of 150,000,000 people, through the rescue of their children from disease and death; and

Be is further resolved, that this Committee express to Dr. Fridtjof Nansen its profound appreciation of the privilege which it has been accorded of being, in small measure, part of that vast humanitarian work which Dr. Nansen created in the spirit of the brotherhood of man, and brought to successful fruit in the saving of millions of human beings from death; and that this Committee gratefully accepts Dr. Nansen's offer to make the necessary arrangements with the Russian authorities for the continuation after August 15th, of its work of child-salvage.

(Signed) MARY LENA WILSON, *Secretary*.

The American-Nansen Committe,
New York City.

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More Thoughts by Straw Voters

The Uses of Adversity

SIR: I should like to see Henry Ford President. He would make so many mistakes that the country would be waked up to the fact that it has a President. R. T. T.
Los Angeles, California.

Government Ownership of Nothing

SIR: The League without the Treaty and with some reservations would be acceptable to me. However, until our government is controlled by some other method than political parties whose primary purpose is to get votes instead of to give governmental service I do not favor government ownership of anything. G. L. F.
Grass Valley, Oregon.

A Herculean League

SIR: I favor a League as strong as possible so that its decrees might be enforced. No reservations tending to weaken its authority, but such as might work for greater power by the smaller nations. I am less sympathetic because of the failure to prevent the Ruhr occurrence. Possibly with the United States in it we could have avoided the outrage. J. W. M.
New York City.

For the Use of *All* the People

SIR: I favor a third party because a beginning is necessary for any accomplishment and, although a lifelong Democrat, I would select Borah as the soundest man in public life today.

"Yes," on question 5, and I'd also include oil. The oil and the coal are in the earth for the use of all the people and not for a monopoly in the hands of the few. J. C. M.
Magnolia, Arkansas.

The Power of the Press

SIR: I think my former sympathy toward the League would revive if the newspapers and periodicals would take up the issue as earnestly as during the campaign of 1920. Rather than risk the success of a non-liberal candidate by splitting the vote three ways, I should favor retaining the liberals in the old parties to harry the reactionaries out of power. H. I. K.
Palmer, Washington.

No Outstanding Liberal in Sight

SIR: Although one cannot form an opinion from your first five hundred ballots, it seems that there *is* no outstanding liberal to lead a new party to anything like success. La Follette—granting, his ability and courage—will be sixty-nine years of age in March, 1925, and seventy-three in 1929, the earliest date one can hope for a new party president. As to Borah: He is powerful, popular, and vigorous of mind. But he is too insular in his ideals and, one fears, more eager for the presidency than for the cause of liberalism. The reform must come from within one of the present parties. Meanwhile we shall have Harding or Ford. S. H. C.
Chicago.

Thanks

SIR: Your Straw Vote idea is excellent. There are hundreds of men all over the country like myself who feel the need of some agency to make articulate the spirit of progress that is growing up in our national life, and who are disgusted with outgrown political tactics based on expediency and lacking in idealism. W. J. V.
Pleasantville, New York.

Again Thanks

SIR: I wish that you would word our official ballots: One always feels he is guessing at their meaning. H. J. S.
Bay City, Michigan.

What a Traveller Sees

SIR: I am travelling constantly from the Atlantic to the Mississippi Valley states. Sixty percent of the people desire to see a new political party organized, and they prefer Henry Ford to any other man for President. R. M. S.
Danville, Illinois.

At Opposite Poles

SIR: The only presidential candidates in the United States today are John D. Rockefeller, Jr., and William Z. Foster.
Halifax, N. S. J. S. W.

A Ford Can Run Anywhere

SIR: I have named Henry Ford because I think he would depart from the beaten paths. He might get us into the ditch, but anything is preferable to the "normalcy" of Harding, Daugherty, Weeks and Burns. T. P. J.
Spencer, North Carolina.

Tweedledum vs. Tweedledee

SIR: This is purely an expression of opinion as I am a Canadian and not a voter. I could of course become a citizen and a voter if American politics ever presented anything but a choice between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. E. C.
Pleasantville, New York.

Education for a Third Party

SIR: It would be impossible to put over its candidate for President at the forthcoming elections, but a campaign of education as to principals, such as is being made by the Farmer-Labor movement, will, I believe, ultimately make a Labor party possible. The third party will grow from the successes of the liberals in state elections, which the last elections proved to be a rapidly increasing number. E. S.
Buffalo, New York.

How England Beats Us To It

SIR: I do not believe that full public ownership and control promises a good way out of present industrial difficulties. Our so-called democracy has too many checks and is too slow to move to promise results under public ownership. England is far ahead of us in control of government by the majority of its citizens.
Mount Carmel, Connecticut. W. G. L.

When Ford Slipped Up

SIR: A third party would be successful in making one of the old organizations more progressive and might result in the election of that ticket. My personal choice is an anti-militarist. The successful mechanic [Ford] had some claims until he announced himself in favor of enlarging the navy. L. A. B.
Kansas City, Montana.

"A Respectable Old Lady"

SIR: I have selected Herbert Hoover as leader of a third party because he seems to me a man who knows industrial and social conditions both at home and abroad. Unfortunately he is a poor public speaker and the "old guard" do not care for him, but he would have a great popular following.

We shall never get anywhere by fiddling with a worn-out Republican or Democratic party and we won't get far under Harding. He is a respectable old lady trying to lead a worn-out party. C. K. L.
Penn Yan, New York.

Guilty Because Hanged

SIRS The anti-League people argue in a circle: America is the keystone to the arch; therefore America should stay out. The key-stone being out, the League is only a qualified success; therefore America was wise in staying out. Like the jury who hanged the man because he was guilty and proved his guilt by the fact he was hanged. E. J. L.
Rollo, Montana.

Ill or Out of Town

SIR: . . . I should probably be ill or out of town on election day. The only reply to question 4 [presidential possibilities] is the Litany, which Webster describes as a series of invocations, deprecations, obsecrations, intercessions, supplications, and prayers.
New York City. G. S.

Some Planks for a Platform

SIR: I think the candidate ought to be able to attack the problems of preventing the farmer population from going further toward a state of mortgagee serfdom; of making the railroads pay their own way; of the coal supply, so that there would be continuous employment for the miners; and of establishment of a foreign policy. Any is better than the present. D. C. D.

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Casanova

Casanova, Adventurer and Lover, by Joseph Le Gras. Translated by A. Francis Steuart. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company. $5.00.

"THERE are few more delightful books in the world than Casanova's Mémoires. That is a statement I have long vainly sought to see in print," wrote Havelock Ellis in Affirmations. It is a statement which only a thoroughly realistic critic like Mr. Ellis would make publicly, but it is one to which any reader of the Mémoires will subscribe in his heart. For of sheer, sensual, pleasure-giving quality it is doubtful if there is a more supreme example in modern literature. Whatever we may think of the accuracy of the Mémoires in detail, they are supported by ample external evidence in the conclusion that Giacomo Casanova was one of the most fascinating of men. As a lover he devoted himself to the giving and receiving of pleasure in its most immediate and intense form. As a gambler he committed his career unreservedly to the disposition of the goddess fortune. He lived in the period of the modern world in which the art of pleasure was most completely an object of culture, and the play of fortune most cynically accepted as the arbiter of human affairs, the eighteenth century. He was born in Venice in its glorious decadence but he moved like a flash from one capital to another—Rome, Paris, London, Berlin, Madrid, St. Petersburg. He seems to answer Pater's question, "How shall we pass most swiftly from point to point and be present always at the focus where the greatest number of vital forces unite in their purest energy." He shared in the most grandiose adventures of the time. The narrative of his flight from I Piombi in Venice is a masterpiece on the romantic theme of escape from prison. His gambling became high finance in connection with the lottery to support the failing treasury of France in the Seven Years War. His love-making joined politics when he shared in friendly rivalry the mistress of M. de Bernis, French Ambassador to Venice and afterwards Cardinal, and lent his connoisseurship to selecting the favorites of Louis XV. His intellectual curiosity rose to philosophy when he visited Voltaire at Ferney, and during his long old age as librarian of Count Waldstein at Dux. His dealing with magic gave him authority in the highest quarters, over Venetian patricians, Amsterdam financiers and great ladies of Paris. Above all Casanova succeeded in preserving in his Mémoires the fascination of his personality and the vivid charm of his adventures. It is this indubitable fact which weighs far more than evidence derived from checking up his account with others, in deciding the question of the literal truth of the Mémoires. The extraordinary verve with which he sustains his vast and minute narrative one feels is incompatible with conscientious accuracy of severe biography. The Mémoires are probably an example of a narrative of fact almost unconsciously passing over into fiction, a phenomenon familiar in Defoe and his predecessors in the English novel. Casanova has written the characteristic picaresque novel of Italy, in its great picaresque period. What Lazarillo de Tormes is to Spain, or Gil Blas to France, or The English Rogue to England, or Dead Souls to Russia, that the Mémoires are to Italy of the eighteenth century. The Casanova of the Mémoires is of that fiction which is truer than fact; he is an incarnation of the realistic spirit of his period as Faust of the romantic glory of the Renaissance.

It is not perhaps surprising that Casanova is on the index expurgatorius of English and American readers. We shudder to think what Mr. Sumner would do if confronted by an English translation. Yet we have John Ruskin writing to Charles Eliot Norton in 1876, "Am greatly amused with the life of Casanova at present." Other amateurs of Casanova have been less generous. Thackeray drew freely upon him for the Adventures of Barry Lyndon. How gratifying it would have been to have had the Irish rogue meet casually with his Italian contemporary, as Esmond met Swift and Addison—but it does not happen. Likewise Mrs. Wharton opened the same rich vein for The Valley of Decision but with the same reticence. Like Thackeray she refuses to introduce her benefactor to good society. We have a feeling that both these authors have held out on us. Charles Whibley has given rather a pallid sketch of the adventurer in Literary Portraits, Havelock Ellis, a vigorous one in Affirmations, and Arthur Symons has added a footnote in Casanova at Dux. Probably the first introduction of Casanova to many of our countrymen was through Schnitzler's two Casanova plays, Die Schwestern and his lately translated Casanova's Homecoming. Of course the reason for this prudence is the usual one, la morale. Mr. Ellis makes a brave plea for his subject on somewhat the same lines as Charles Lamb's famous defence of the Comedy of the Restoration. Casanova's eighteenth century like Congreve's seventeenth, is to be regarded as a Land of Cocaigne where we may seek relaxation from bearing the burden and suffering the restraint of our daily life, and return refreshed and invigorated from the excursion. "Art," says Mr. Ellis, "is the athletics of the emotions. . . . Such literature has a moral value; it helps us to live peacefully within the highly specialized routine of civilization." It may be added that Casanova's example carries a safeguard with it. If l'homme moyen sensuel is inspired to imitation he must be immediately discouraged by a sense of his own inadequacy. But a less ingenious defence for the reading of Casanova may be found in the intellectual value of acquaintance with an experience and morality not our own. As Mr. Ellis points out, Casanova was not without conscience—it was merely that this organ was deeply buried beneath an egoism almost impenetrable. His moral sensibility was not easily touched. Casanova chose to live, rather than to find reasons for not living; to make experience itself the material of an aesthetic which was at once simple, natural, and honest. "I have always loved women," he says ingenuously, "and done my best to make them love me. I have also delighted in good cheer, and I have passionately followed whatever has excited my curiosity."

The present volume is to be commended as a means of introducing Casanova further to English readers. It is not, let us say at once, as good an introduction as Charles Samaran's Jacques Casanova, Vénitien, or Edouard Maynial's Casanova and his Time, which has been translated into English. M. Le Gras has tried to summarize the vast material of the Mémoires into a character sketch or portrait, but he has done this without penetration or finesse, and the result is that he gives us again and again as comment what Casanova tells us so simply as fact. We should like to see what a modern biographer would make of the subject. We hasten to add that we are thinking of Mr. Lytton Strachey, or Mr. Van Wyck Brooks—not of Mr. D. H. Lawrence or of Mr. William Roscoe Thayer.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

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Vive La France! A Bas La France!

As We See It, by René Viviani. English translation by Thomas R. Ybarra. New York: Harper Brothers. $3.00.

The Decadence of Europe, by Francesco Nitti, translated by F. Brittain. New York: Henry Holt and Company. $3.00.

IT is possible for a thoughtful American reading these two books, which are specially addressed to him, to agree with the major theses of both. M. Viviani, who, it will be recalled, was prime minister of France when the Great War broke in 1914 and who subsequently in 1917 when the United States entered the war headed the special French mission to this country, has recently been reading the Kaiser's memoirs and has gotten uncontrollably excited. So he has written a book, showing, with an orator's rhetoric and a lawyer's legalism, and with some documentary evidence gleaned from Kautsky's documents, that William II is a bad man, a coward, and a liar, and more directly responsible for the Great War than any other person in Germany. With all of which few Americans will disagree. Professor Nitti, the distinguished Italian economist and the premier of his country for a year following the conclusion of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919, has recently been studying the general situation in Europe, particularly in Germany and France, and has now confirmed, in simple declarative sentences, the conviction already expressed in an earlier work that the peace since 1919 is a wicked peace, destructive of civilization, and that its chief author and abettor is France. Signor Nitti's contentions are more striking than M. Viviani's, and more deserving of serious consideration.

Aside from the flood of light which it may throw upon French national feeling at the present time, M. Viviani's book is not significant. It repeats the story, dinned into our ears six years ago, of Germany's colossal guilt and France's perfect innocence. M. Viviani seems hopelessly unaware of the complexity of the general causes of the Great War—the rampant nationalism, the selfish and greedy imperialism, the blatant militarism, and the unscrupulous diplomacy, which characterized all the European countries in greater or less degree from 1870 to 1914. His sole reference to the conflict of rival economic imperialisms is his strange accusation against Germany that "she was cutting down prices everywhere, ruining the commerce and industries of other lands, making her own industries the dominant power." In his discussion of the military and naval preparations of Russia, England, and France from 1905 to 1914, he asks if these were not "elementary measures of precaution, dictated solely by regard for national security," but he ignores the real tragedy of the situation, namely, that the same justification of military and naval preparedness was put forward during those critical years by Germany, Austria, and Italy. He elaborates on the sinister diplomatic manoeuvres between Austria and Germany but he is as silent as the sphinx on what we would most like to know—the inside story of the diplomatic relations between France and Russia. He would even have us believe that when he and M. Poincaré journeyed to Petrograd in July, 1914, they were journeying "with heads held high and clean of heart, toward peace, toward the strengthening of our alliance with Russia, toward the establishment of friendly relations with other lands, toward that fusion of general sympathies wherein the privileged friendship caused by the existence of an alliance does not preclude additional knitting together of thoughts and interests." M. Viviani not only adds nothing to our knowledge of the Great War but actually conceals many things which should be known.

Signor Nitti has an infinitely firmer grasp on the basic general causes of the Great War. The war, he says, "was made inevitable, sooner or later, by the lack of unity between the three Empires of Russia, Germany and Austria-Hungary, all three of which were in the power of a few irresponsible individuals; by the conflict between Russia and Austria-Hungary for the hegemony of the Balkans; by the cynicism with which Russia exercised corruption and instigated revolts; by the state of French opinion after 1870; by Italy's rash adventure in Libya; and by Germany's fatal error in aiming at the supremacy of the seas—a supremacy which England, quite rightly, could never tolerate. . . . To attribute all the responsiblity to Germany is a gross breach of good faith and a violation of the truth."

The Great War was evil, argues Nitti, but the Treaty of Versailles is worse. Based on the erroneous assumption that Germany was alone guilty of the war, the treaty aims deliberately at the dismemberment and enslavement of Germany. While the German steel and iron trade was one of the causes of the ghastly war (for which, however, all the countries of Europe are responsible in different degrees), yet the corresponding French trade has been one of the chief causes of the bad peace. It is for the purpose of ruining Germany economically, that the French industrialists have detached from her the Saar and the richer part of Upper Silesia, have occupied the Ruhr, and have insisted upon the payment of impossible indemnities, with the attendant enormities and extravagances of the military régime in the Rhineland and the financial régime of the Reparations Commission.

The meat of Signor Nitti's book is the detailed chronicle and critical study of the reparations problem. He perceives in this problem "the fundamental difficulty underlying the economic life of the world. Born in equivocation, engendered by violence, and conceived in opposition to all compacts and pledges, the reparations question represents the ruin of Germany, the destruction of the world's commerce, and the most formidable blunder that has ever menaced the existence of civilization in modern times. . . . Unless the indemnities are to be used as a means of suffocation, Germany should be asked no more than to take over the amount owed by the victorious countries of the Entente to England and America, and should be granted a moratorium of a few years; not more than twenty or twenty-five million tons of coal for ten years should be demanded; the absurd cession in perpetuity of the Saar mines should be renounced . . . ; and the whole of Upper Silesia should be abandoned to Germany." "Cancellation of debts and credits, renunciation of all military occupation and of all control, and abandonment of the so-called reparations policy—this program satisfies the immediate demands of the life of the world." Subsequently, Austria should be permitted to unite with Germany, and the succession states of central and eastern Europe should be persuaded to repeal their competitive tariffs and to form a customs-union.

Signor Nitti certainly has courage and probably has common sense. Americans simply must know the tangled story of "reparations," not out of vague sentimental regard for a defeated foe but by reason of the cold copper-fastened

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fact that it is inextricably bound up with their own well-being and prosperity. The present situation in Europe is leading straight to another great war either in this generation or in the next, a war far ghastlier than that of 1914, a war in which the United States is certain to be involved. The only way in which we can break the chain of fate is to know the true situation in Europe and to act intelligently for its amelioration. Signor Nitti's book should be helpful for the knowledge it imparts and for the counsel it gives.

There are rather obvious blemishes in the book. It is as idle for Signor Nitti to hold France solely responsible for the Treaty of Versailles as for M. Viviani to hold Germany wholly responsible for the war. It is absurd to attribute to England the "greatest spirit of justice, honesty, and moderation in her relations with other countries." It was England that took the bulk of the German colonies, German warships, and German merchant vessels, thereby strangling Germany in one economic respect quite as fully as France seeks to suffocate Germany in another, and it was Mr. Lloyd George who in 1918 received a thumping majority from his fellow countrymen on the platform of hanging the Kaiser and making Germany pay to the last pfennig. And more recently the duplicity of British diplomacy in the Near East has at least equalled that of France. We shall not get far towards stable peace until we cease to fasten the sins of the world on a single scapegoat, whether it be Germany, as M. Viviani preaches, or whether it be France, as Signor Nitti proclaims.

The two books before us evoke another, and more fundamental observation. Do they not suggest that our present-day democracies are characterized as much by internal greed as by external idealism, and that the man in the street is quite willing to allow some grasping group of his fellow countrymen to exploit foreigners if only he may repeat, parrot-like, some high sounding moral platitude? Is it not true that our democratic nations—France, Italy, England, the United States—look like Bayard and act like Shylock? "The men who govern large democracies," says Signor Nitti, "are, before they control the crowd, very often its servants; in order not to lose their popularity, they even exaggerate the errors of the masses, and it is rarely that one finds men of great and noble mind who know how to face unpopularity." This, to our way of thinking, is the great obstacle to the realization of any constructive program in the world today. It prevents any just solution of the reparation problem. It keeps military and naval preparedness at fever heat. It encourages the resumption of unrestrained economic imperialism. It is strikingly exemplified in M. Viviani and in his present book, and not less in M. Poincaré and in the existing governments at London and at Washington. It raises the big question as to whether political democracy can be operated in national states without the worst sort of international war.

CARLTON J. H. HAYES.

Glenn Plumb's Idea

Industrial Democracy, by Glenn E. Plumb and William G. Roylance. New York: B. W. Huebsch. $2.00.

THIS is a book of one idea, the expounding of a faith to which the principal author devoted the last, most fruitful years of an exceptionally energetic and varied life. To read it with either critical or sympathetic understanding one should know something of the life and mental development of its progenitor.

The late Glenn E. Plumb was a graduate of Oberlin College, a student at Harvard and a graduate of Northwestern University Law School. A large strong body, hardened by a boyhood life in the country, gave him an aggressive physical power at the command of a restless, inquiring mind. He began the practice of law as a representative of public utilities, became a promoter and operator of street railways and interurban lines, and then transferred his legal and operating experience to municipal service as special traction counsel for the City of Chicago during the administration of Mayor Dunne.

A few years later he was aiding the State's Attorney in an effort to lighten the public burden from overcapitalization of the elevated railroads of Chicago. Then he became a special attorney for Chicago in a long struggle over rates with the People's Gas Company. In 1917 began his most notable work as attorney for the organized railway employees, first representing them in valuation proceedings before the Interstate Commerce Commission and later drafting and advocating a plan for national ownership of the railroads and operation by a "tripartite" board representing management, labor and the public. This program was promptly dubbed the Plumb Plan by the newspapers—and its sponsors accepted the name.

The Plumb Plan is a landmark in the progress of economic philosophy in the general direction of the democratization of industry. The years of preceding agitation and theorizing had not disturbed seriously the controllers of American industry. It had seemed sufficient to refer to the agitators as "socialists" or "anarchists" with whom "one hundred percent Americans" would have no patience. (The phrase presumably means an American to whom one hundred percent profit is the goal of all effort.) But the Plumb Plan was more annoying. In the first place, it appeared at a time when "captains of industry" were most anxious to discredit and abandon all the war-caused advances toward socialization of industry and to return to a profitably irresponsible "normalcy." In the second place, the workers of the world were watching with all too keen interest the Russian experiment in "proletariat control" and might readily be induced to try the exercise of a little control themselves. In the third place, the railway employees, especially the transportation men, had always been regarded as the most conservative of trade unionists. Now, if they were to become "radical," no one could guess what revolutionary program might be sponsored by organized labor.

Therefore the Plumb Plan was received with vigorous horror and attacked with magnificent mendacity. It was worse than Socialism! It was worse than Bolshevism! It was worse than anything you could think of that you hated! The volume and sweep of this abuse had an interesting effect upon the Plumb Plan author. Always an incorrigible optimist, he became a zealot. He was convinced that he had found the industrial panacea. Being one of the most generous, trustful, self-forgetful persons ever given leadership in a society of selfish, suspicious, self-centred human beings, he promptly assumed the duty of devising means to reorganize all industry. Serenely unheeding the protests of friends and foes alike he proceeded to expand An Idea for the solution of the railroad problem into The Idea for the solution of all industrial problems.

Industrial Democracy is an exposition of the one way to industrial peace and prosperity, a road blazed, cleared and partially constructed by Glenn E. Plumb.

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A portion of the foundation work and most of the surfacing has been done by William G. Roylance. Failing health forced Mr. Plumb to call in a collaborator—not because he anticipated the fatal end of his obscure malady but because he foresaw inevitable delay in giving his message to the world—and with typical enthusiasm he would not brook delay. On his death bed he rejoiced that he had found a capable and sympathetic co-author and that he had been able to live to see practically completed this final expression of his idealism.

The background of the book may explain it far better than an analysis of its content. In the measure of Glenn E. Plumb's greatness—it is a great book. It glows with an optimism, it burns with a faith, that seem to the reverent, religious, and to the cynical, fanatic. The inquiring sceptic will shake his head impatiently over its pages of confident generalizations.

> Democracy is necessarily peaceful and constructive, because it operates through voluntary association, instead of at the fiat of an autocrat or under the tutelage of a supposedly superior class. Democracy has proved itself in every period of the world's history. . . . Always the nations that have made most industrial progress are the most democratic, and always the most democratic nations have built up the highest and the most humanly valuable institutions.

But even the sceptic, long before he reaches the concrete program for reorganizing industry, will find himself impressed with the intensive study of history and economics upon which the persistent generalizations are based. There is a History of Democracy condensing a small library into twenty rapid pages. The next chapter on the origin and development of American Democracy, as an industrial rather than a political evolution, shows similar research. Against inherent prejudice the cautious student will realize that the enthusiast, leaping from conclusion to conclusion, is not ignorant of the difficult ground through which the plodders who follow him must struggle. He is merely in haste to reach the summit and to encourage them forward with a megaphonic description of the great prospect that will be unfolded to them.

> The most valuable of all human assets is a well-grounded faith in ourselves. All great human achievements are the result of a high sense of the value of the end sought and a firm belief in the possibility of its accomplishment.

This paean of faith is the opening of the final chapter. It sets the standard by which the book must be judged. It is intended as an inspiration to faith—faith in democracy. We of America have sought to solve the political problems of society by the application of democratic principles, by insuring equal opportunity and equal protection of life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, through self-government. Let us now seek the solution of industrial problems by the same means. Let us use the corporation as an institution for self-government in industry, committing its control to all those who contribute either money or services in proportion to the amount of their contributions, distributing its benefits in fair proportion between those who produce and those who consume, who are alike necessary to its useful operation. Let us have done with concentrating priyileges and profits—piling up hoards of "capital" as community debts instead of as community assets.

This is an inadequate—and presumably unconvincing—condensation of The Idea—The One Way to industrial peace and prosperity as visioned in Industrial Democracy. Certainly neither Mr. Plumb nor Mr. Roylance would feel that they had written the closing argument—that the case was ready to be submitted to the jury on the evidence taken and this brief of counsel for the complainant against industrial autocracy. Their book is primarily inspirational—a call to study, to plan, to work hard, in faith that here is the right road and that a promised land lies beyond the horizon.

"Trial and error" is apparently the human way to advance—for those who are optimists enough to believe that the race goes forward. To break down inertia, to bring about change, to fight against discouragement, requires stout hearts—a faith that far too often seems unjustified. But if one will read this "message" with desire—even willingness—to sympathize with its aspiration, and to glimpse a way out of industrial confusion and inefficiency that avoids the regimentation of state socialism and the revolutionary miseries (at least) of communism, he will be a stubborn conservative indeed who will not feel some response to the glowing faith in democracy that inspired this writing.

DONALD R. RICHBERG.

New Novels

Anthony John, by Jerome K. Jerome. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. $2.00.

WE all know the portrait which is unmistakably a good likeness, although we have never laid eyes on the sitter. Mr. Jerome gives us a series of portraits of Anthony John, the earliest of a baby, the latest of a successful business man old enough to have grown up children. All the earlier portraits have this air of being surprisingly like. From the later portraits this particular kind of skill is absent. Always unforced, Mr. Jerome's humor is also delineative so long as Anthony John is still young. A book of gentle will, written by a man to whom this world's misery is a source of pain, written with a winning amenity that is never syrupy or too bland. At the end of the story, when Anthony John has decided to give up all the money he has made and to follow Christ's teaching literally, it is partly my fault, I suppose, that I don't ask the question Mr. Jerome meant me to ask: "What would happen if not one man but all men tried to imitate Christ?" I never cared much, you see, for The Passing of the Third Floor Back. All except the original Imitation of Christ merely strengthen in me the will to beware of imitations.

Echo, by Margaret Rivers Larminie. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. $2.00.

MELITA FOUNDE, unmarried mother of a child who died in infancy, falls in love with Charles Aubury. Charles, who knows all about her except the name of her baby's father, and who thinks he knows that, falls in love with Melita. Without either being aware of the other's love they get married. Because of this ignorance their marriage, which takes place on pages 179 and 180, is not consummated until six months later, page 352, the last of the book. A scabrous situation? Well, no, not as Miss Larminie treats it, with delicacy and good taste. A palely loitering good taste, a delicacy so prolonged

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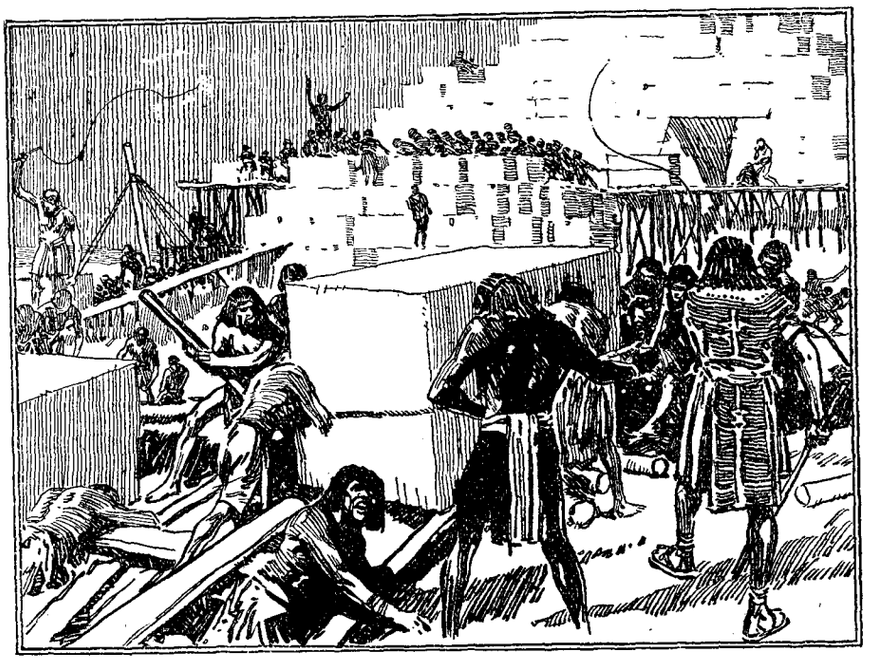

Men died like flies

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that I lose patience, that I begin to murmur to Charles such words of advice as Squire Western would have shouted at him. The more credible Miss Larminie makes their six months' delay the less interest do I take in Charles and Melita. If they had been brighter they wouldn't have waited so long. Unconsummated marriage is not a good subject for a taste as good as Miss Larminie's. It is a subject which is nothing if left unexplored. Perfect taste is no explorer. Through the Dark Continence, by Violet Prury—that's the kind of book that Echo makes me, for a moment, crave.

Star of Earth, by Morris Dallett. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $1.50.

TO speak as a highbrow might, if his brow were high enough, Star of Earth is a pseudomorph (look up pseudomorph). If Mr. Morris Dallett (I wonder whether this is his real name, or hers) had grown tired of the usual run of Central-American revolution-adventure stories, and especially tired of the survival of the fittest in such stories, and had resolved to write a C.-A. revolution-adventure story (with possibly a quarter or half an eye on Prince Otto) different from all those he had read, then I can't guess how Star of Earth, so conceived, would have been unlike the Star of Earth he has written. "Tired with all these, for restful death I cry," Mr. Dallett appears to have said to himself, and restful deaths are what he has given us, several of them, all very restful and soothing. To keep on guessing about him, I fancy that Star of Earth, the result of an effort to imagine nothing improbable, has made Mr. Dallett almost as tired as the stories he was determined that it shouldn't resemble. There is fatigue in his detachment. His people, nearly all of them, seem to share his detachment. So do I. Yet one of these days, if just the right story occurs to Mr. Dallett, his bored manner will set off his events, and wise guys will buy several copies apiece of his first edition.

Danger, by Ernest Poole. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.00.

MR. POOLE has brooded over the sickness and the insanity of this post-war world; he has been desolated by its miseries, its faiths dying and dead, its impotence to save itself from irreparable disaster; he has seen that no hope is possible unless there is a profound change in men's hearts. He has expressed this feeling by translating it into a picture of a few human destinies. We have all known some woman or other, usually an unmarried woman, to whom the war was as food to the starving. Mr. Poole calls her Maud Brewer, paints her unsparingly yet with abundant pity, abhors the evil she carries and is sorry for her. He seems unaware—which of course he is not—that she is a symbol, that she has many meanings, so distinct an individual does he make her. He accomplishes the difficult feat of keeping her an individual, of giving a sharper and sharper edge to her uniqueness, while she is going mad and after her madness has become incurable. He is not afraid to represent the progress of her madness as, among other things, now and then amusing. This stroke of insight is to my mind the rarest thing in Danger, the least expected, the most exactly right. The contrast is curious between Mr. Poole at his topmost and Mr. Poole as the rather commonplace contriver of events, the rather conventional drawer of his other characters, which he is sometimes in this neither conventional nor commonplace book, the work of a man who exacts most from himself when he sets himself the hardest of his tasks.

Le Fleuve du Feu, par François Mauriac. Paris: Bernard Grasset. 6 fr. 75.

READERS of Manette Salomon have not forgotten what fun the Goncourts make there of critics who talk about painting as if painting were a subdivision of morals. These critics apparently wished to recognize in Garnotellé's "way of painting the beauty of his soul. The flake-white and the bitumen that he used were the flake-white and the bitumen of a noble heart. His grays became a kind of sobriety." Well, it is impossible for me to speak of Le Fleuve du Feu without falling into this vein. M. François Mauriac's grays do have a beautiful sobriety, his hills and his rainy afternoons are those of a noble heart. His story begins as if it were to be an affair of routine lust, of casual fornication at a summer resort in the Pyrénées, and it turns into an austere and sympathetic examination of three attitudes of mind toward the flesh. The attitude of a saint, a woman who hates the flesh and who devotes herself to saving younger women from the sins of the flesh and their consequences. The attitude of a young girl who is all desire and abhorrence, who could not give herself to her first lover without an immense moral effort, "car elle avait dû se vaincre pour se perdre," and whose ecstasy in the arms of her second lover is followed by a repentence, a sense of degradation quite as acute, quite as sincere. The attitude of this young brute of a second lover, who has had ever so many women, who seeks in sexual love a mystical something he never finds there, who understands his mistress's repentance, who has a covert sympathy with her older friend's attempt to save her. M. Mauriac might say of what he has done in this book, if he be one of those many Frenchmen who know their Shakespeare, Out of this nettle, lust, I pluck this flower, beauty. For beauty is one's final impression—a sober beauty, direct and subtle, mystic and male, Christian and unflinching.

J. K. SINGLETON.

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